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**The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in
Eastern Scotland, 1685-1760**

Helen Goodwill

PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2000

*Of all the Arts that sooth the human Breast
Musick blest power the sweetest is confest
Hightens our Joys, distends our fiercest pains
This each one proves who knows its heavenly strains*

From an 18th-century Scottish manuscript in the National Library of Scotland
(NLS MS 633)

Abstract

This research has traced the extent and nature of involvement in art music by the landed classes in the East of Scotland from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. This period was a very positive era for art music in Scotland: an era which saw the establishment of several illustrious and dynamic music societies which attracted some of the leading European composers and performers, such as Johann Schetky, Giusto Tonducci, Girolamo Stabellini and Francesco Barsanti, as well as the emergence of a group of talented Scottish composers, including William MacGibbon, David Foulis and Thomas Erskine. Previous research has focused on these aspects of music-making and little attention has hitherto been paid to amateur and domestic music-making, or to the role of amateurs as patrons of music. This thesis aims to augment existing knowledge of the development of the art music tradition in the early years of the eighteenth century, focusing specifically on the musical activities of the landed upper classes. Exploration of the musical pursuits of a sample of nine landowning families has revealed a thriving domestic music tradition, and the landowners under survey were seen to have been crucial to the development of public musical activities in the early years of the eighteenth century.

From accounts, correspondence, personal memorabilia and other archival muniments, a picture of domestic musical activity has been built up for each family. Purchase and maintenance of instruments, expenditure on concert tickets, and the commissioning of portraits which include musical instruments are all discussed and factors which might have affected musical involvement are explored. Subsequent sections survey the landowners' support for professional musicians through employment of music teachers, through engagements, gifts, recommendations and advancement, and through financial backing for publishing endeavours. A survey of

subscription lists of music published in Scotland forms a substantial part of this section of the thesis.

The precise musical tastes of the families under survey have been assessed through the study of the collections of music they acquired; as these are in most cases no longer extant, each family's music library has been reconstructed as far as possible from sales catalogues, inventories and discharges. The recently-rediscovered sales catalogue for Lord Colville of Ochiltree's vast music collection provides evidence that up-to-date Italian instrumental music was known at an early date in Scotland, and the predominance of large-scale chamber music in many of the music collections throws new light on domestic music activities.

The landowners' role as cultural leaders is examined in the final chapter, which includes assessments of the contributions of two aristocrats about whom virtually nothing was previously known (Alexander Bayne of Rires and Robert Colville of Ochiltree).

Abbreviations and Coinage

Abbreviations and Symbols Used:

| | |
|-------|---|
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland (formerly Scottish Record Office) |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland |
| Er | Reid Music Library, Edinburgh University |
| Lbl | British Library, London |
| Gu | University of Glasgow Library |
| Ep | Central Library, Edinburgh |
| NRAS | National Register of Archives, Scotland |
| HMC | Historic Manuscripts Commission |
| c | circa |
| GD | Gifts and Deposits in National Archives of Scotland |
| MS | manuscript source |
| ≡ | “is equivalent to” (cash) |
| BC | basso continuo |
| ded. | dedicated to |
| incl. | including |

Abbreviations for Bibliographic Sources:

| | |
|-------|--|
| RISM | <i>Repertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> , London, 1971 on |
| BUCEM | E Schnapper: <i>British Union Catalogue of Early Music</i> , London, 1957 |
| CPM | <i>Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980</i> , ed L Baillie, London, 1981-87 |
| Grove | <i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. S Sadie, London, 1980 |

Coinage

1 merk = 13s 4d
1 dollar = 58 s
1 guinea = 21 s

conversion to Sterling after 1707: £1 sterling =£12 Scots

Policy on Quoting from Original Documents

Quotations from documents, titles of music and spelling of names in subscription lists are reproduced in this thesis exactly as they appear in the original, with the following exceptions:

- 1) Abbreviations, especially the letter 'y' meaning 'th' in earlier documents, have been replaced where the abbreviation would impede understanding.
- 2) Any additions and amplifications I have made to aid comprehension are contained in square brackets.

Otherwise, all spelling and grammatical idiosyncracies have been reproduced exactly; the word "sic" has been used on occasion to confirm a dubious spelling.

Any word which was particularly difficult to decipher, or illegible for any reason, has been indicated by a question mark in brackets; suggestions for the missing word are contained in each case in the accompanying text.

All dates are given as in the original source, with no regard to old or new style dating.¹

¹ Until 1752, the New Year began on 25 March; dates from 1st Jan to 24 Mar were regarded as the previous year, or were given as eg. 1686/7 for Jan-Mar 1687. Additionally, the Continental Gregorian Calendar was 10 days in advance of the British Julian Calendar before 1700, and 11 days in advance after 1700, ie. 3 June in Britain was 14 June in Holland in the early eighteenth century.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the assistance of many people, most notably my supervisors, Dr Noel O'Regan in the Music Faculty and Dr Alex Murdoch in the Department of Scottish History. Not only have their encouragement and suggestions been invaluable, but the final write-up could not have been finished without their help in forwarding literature to Inverness, for which I am extremely grateful.

The staff at the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, the National Register of Archives (Scotland), the Reid Music Library and Glasgow University Library have been unfailingly helpful and supportive.

Thank you to the present owners of the country houses I have visited, for their interest in the project and for allowing me to use their archives. Thanks especially to the archivists at Mellerstain, Hopetoun and Blair Castle who helped me locate many useful documents.

I am grateful to the University of Edinburgh for the studentship which enabled me to undertake post-graduate study, and also for the stimulating intellectual climate – I have greatly enjoyed my time in the University. Thank you to all the staff, students and others who have discussed aspects of this work with me over the past years, and most recently to Mr W Bedborough, Mrs F Black and Mrs H McLulich who proof-read the thesis and made many helpful comments.

Finally, a huge thank you to my husband Mark, for the many hours he has spent scanning documents and sorting out my computing problems, for the numerous occasions he has cooked tea and cleaned the house while I worked, and for understanding when I have disappeared to London or Edinburgh for days at a time in search of documents and manuscripts.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself. I undertook the archival research myself, and analysed and wrote up the results myself.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'H Goodwill'.

Helen Goodwill

September 2000

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Music and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

The eighteenth century was an exciting period in the history of music in Scotland: an era which saw the growth of public concerts, the establishment of dynamic music societies, an explosion of music publishing, sustained and widespread interest in traditional folk music, and the emergence of a group of talented composers. These developments occurred against a background of rapid and radical changes in the political, economic and social structures of the country, which resulted eventually in Scotland's transformation from a fractured, rural, poverty-stricken nation to an urbanised, industrialised, peaceful, wealthy population.

Several music scholars have specifically addressed the issue of art music in eighteenth-century Scotland. Farmer, Elliott, Purser and Davie¹ have traced the development of Scottish music from its earliest days to the twentieth century, and their chapters on the eighteenth century provide much general and now well-known information on the music societies, publishing, domestic music making, theatre music and composers of the period. Though similar information is presented by each writer, the conclusions drawn on the significance of art music are varied. Henry Farmer speaks enthusiastically of the achievements of the eighteenth century:

Scotland in the eighteenth century was perspicuously triumphant in every phase of her artistic, literary and intellectual life, which had been roused by a broadening humanistic outlook on life following a loosening of the fetters of a narrow religious intolerance. Indeed it was this century that actually produced a renaissance of culture in the land.²

Farmer's eloquent expression of the musical "renaissance" in eighteenth-century Scotland is also worth quoting (overleaf):

¹ H Farmer: *A History of Music in Scotland*; K Elliott and F Rimmer: *A History of Scottish Music*; J Purser: *Scotland's Music*; C T Davie: *Scotland's Music*. David Johnson's exemplary work on music in Scotland in the eighteenth century is discussed overleaf.

² H Farmer: *A History of Music in Scotland*, p. 239

...after the mid-eighteenth century Scotland was able to emerge from her tribulations with a modicum of social tranquility and a new spiritual freedom. Scotland began to make her way, with toddling footsteps at first...her composers began to show that this land could still make worthy offerings at the shrine of St Cecilia.³

John Purser's history of traditional and art music in Scotland encompasses everything from the earliest known musical artefacts to music-making in the twentieth century, and is based on a series of thirty radio broadcasts by the author for the BBC. In such a wide-ranging survey, only brief references to any aspect of the country's musical history can be expected – indeed in the foreword the author states his aim of outlining developments in a manner accessible to the lay reader rather than aiming at an academic audience – but Purser's summary of the contribution of John Abell and John Clerk of Penicuik are rather more rigorous⁴ and provide useful new insights into the musical careers of both.

The only book devoted entirely to musical developments in the eighteenth century is David Johnson's *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, which focuses specifically on the cross-influence of folk and art music. Johnson examines each tradition at length, but his work on the growth in art music in eighteenth-century Scotland, though important, is still to some extent dependent on the research of previous writers such as Henry Farmer, Harry Willsher, Robert Marr, and George Thomson.⁵ The focal point of Johnson's chapters on art music is the visible public facet of musical growth: the music societies and the composers. A chapter of Johnson's book is devoted to the work of Thomas Erskine, the 6th Earl of Kelly, who was an aristocratic composer "ranked all over Europe in the first musical form",⁶ and Johnson also describes the rise of "civic patronage" in great detail, remarking that by the middle of the century Edinburgh was a "classical music centre with claims to European stature".⁷ Little attention is paid to the tremendous amount of interest in art music at all levels of society (measurable through demand for sheet music, number of music shops trading, quantity of amateur music manuscripts

³ Farmer: *History of Music in Scotland*, p. 13

⁴ J Purser: *Scotland's Music*, ch. XIII, pp. 159-172

⁵ H Willsher: *Music in Scotland During Three Centuries*, D.Litt. thesis, St Andrews, 1945; Farmer: *History of Music in Scotland*; R Marr: *Music for the People*; G Thomson: "St Cecilia's Hall" in *Traditions of Edinburgh*, ed. R Chambers

⁶ Obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1781. Though the family name is spelt with "ie" rather than "y" in the *Scots Peerage*, all musical sources have referred to the 6th Earl as "Kelly", and this latter spelling will be adopted throughout the present work.

⁷ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 11

surviving, and so on). Johnson's work is more pioneering in his exploration of the cross-influencing of the art and folk traditions, and his explanation of the ultimate failure of art music in Scotland at the end of the century. In his concluding paragraphs Johnson reiterates his belief that the folk tradition was, and always will be, more fundamental to Scottish society, and concedes that the art music tradition he has outlined was "at best only a minor tributary of the European mainstream".⁸

Cedric Thorpe Davie is very cynical of the optimism and enthusiasm displayed by Johnson in his discussion of art music. Davie accuses Johnson of exaggerating the importance of a very few composers who, Davie feels, are merely "big fishes in a little pond".⁹ Davie regards the eighteenth century as a positive era sandwiched between the drab musical heritage of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, but qualifies this with the statement, "Scotland had not made any significant continuing contribution to music as a conscious and deliberate art until the twentieth century".¹⁰ He goes much further, saying that there would have been no point in writing a chapter on art music in Scotland if it had not been for twentieth century events and lamenting the fact that Scotland's past remarkable contribution to the visual and literary arts has not been emulated by her composers.

Many reputed social historians have little regard for music among eighteenth-century arts. Smout states that the "Lowland musical achievements were inconsiderable - apart from the great pipers, has there been a Scottish composer of outstanding merit in any generation?"¹¹ Henry Gray Graham¹² mentions that daughters of country lairds were often taught viol or virginals (often by the same "jack-of-all-trades" who instructed them in reading, writing, spinning and sewing), but this author stresses that there was neither time nor money for music in the early eighteenth century.

It will be appreciated from this brief summary of the current thinking on music in eighteenth-century Scotland that there is no consensus of opinion as to the importance of classical music. There are still many questions to be answered: was the eighteenth century an important peak in the history of art music in Scotland? Was Scotland at the forefront of musical developments — an important musical

⁸ Johnson: *Music and Society*, p. 200

⁹ C T Davie: *Scotland's Music*, p. 40

¹⁰ C T Davie: *Scotland's Music*, p. 39

¹¹ T C Smout: *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, p. 455

¹² H G Graham: *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 22

centre, as Johnson proposes¹³ — or was the flourishing concert life and compositional activity in eighteenth-century Scotland insignificant in comparison to what was happening in London and continental Europe? The authors cited above have answered these questions with reference only, or mainly, to standards of performance and composition by professional musicians working in Scotland. The influence of amateurs in the development of the art music tradition and the evidence for widespread domestic music-making in eighteenth-century Scotland have gone unheeded. The focus in the present work on the musical activities of a particular group of amateurs (landowners), and also its concentration on the first half of the eighteenth century (about which not much is known), will complement previous work and provide another dimension to the debate on the nature of art music in eighteenth-century Scotland.

A common element in each of the histories of music in Scotland is the dichotomy between folk and art music in the eighteenth century. Echoing Johnson, Elliott comments that the dual interest in folk and art music in Scotland was a contributory factor to the decline of interest in art music towards the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ This tension between the two styles of music as identified by Johnson and Elliott, mirrors, or perhaps epitomises, the dichotomy in Scottish culture¹⁵ after the Act of Union (1707). The explosion of interest in traditional culture, and especially in the preservation of dialects and folk music, was offset by attempts to assimilate aspects of English and European culture among some sections of Scottish society. The English language was sought after; sons were sent to English public schools, and Beattie's *Scoticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improperities of Speech and Writing* (1787) was one of the best-selling books of the period. Musically, the increasing contact with London and with continental Europe led rapidly to a huge influx of modern Italianate music and musicians into Scotland. The juxtaposition of the learned and the traditional, the provincial and the European, is obvious in Allan Ramsay's poem *The Address to the Music Club*, written in 1721:

¹³ Johnson: *Music and Society*, p. 199

¹⁴ K Elliott and F Rimmer: *A History of Scottish Music*, pp. 54, 59

¹⁵ Although the definition of "culture" has been expanded in recent years to include "virtually all aspects of life, work, and play . . . from street games, to portrait painting, eating habits, marriage customs" (Daiches: *Companion to Scottish Culture*, preface) and more specifically "political concerns, and concerns of the eighteenth-century literati" (Kidd: *Subverting Scotland's Past* p. 7), a more conservative definition of culture as interest in and support for artistic endeavour has been employed in the ensuing discussion.

Then you, whose symphony of souls proclaim
Your kin to heav'n, add to your country's fame,
And show that music may have as good a fate
In Albion's Glen as Umbria's green retreat
And with Corelli's soft Italian song,
Mix "Cowdenknowes" and "Winter nights are long"
Each ravished ear extols your heavenly art
Which soothes our care and elevates the heart.

The nature of the wider Scottish culture in the early eighteenth century has fascinated social historians, with some recent studies emphasising the submergence of Scottish identity in a new British culture, while other historians view Scottish culture as a continuing distinctive tradition. Dwyer, Mason and Murdoch, for example, hold the opinion that Scottish cultural identity has never been fully assimilated into a British one:

No matter how hard the Scots tried to be 'North British', the indifference of England and the practical problems of governing a community neither fully autonomous nor fully incorporated, ensured the survival of peculiarly Scottish modes of thought and action.¹⁶

David Daiches also subscribes to the view that Scotland retained, and indeed exploited, her distinctive culture after the Act of Union, and he refers to various examples of nationalist literature,¹⁷ for example James Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* of 1703. Daiches describes the literary activity as a nationalist movement in response to the patriotic defeat of the Union, and draws attention to the fact that traditional Scottish music was published for the first time (and many times over) in the decades immediately following the Treaty. The English influence on this nationalist activity is also recognised in the fact that many Scottish texts were "cleaned up" in the false elegancies of the genteel manner.¹⁸

Colin Kidd, although he initially describes the failure of the Scottish and English Whigs to fuse into British Whiggism and speaks of the "vital heart of the nation's history [being] lost — the link between liberty and nationhood", later illuminates the

¹⁶ J Dwyer, R Mason and A Murdoch: Introduction in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, p. 5

¹⁷ D Daiches: *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, especially chapter 1: "The Cultural Consequences of Union"

¹⁸ Daiches: *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, p. 23, pp. 34-5

attempts of certain Scottish historians to construct an Anglo-British identity, using British constitutional history to create a viable historiography in place of the Buchananite tradition of Scottish independence.¹⁹ Linda Colley is also keen to emphasise the 'British' trends in Scottish culture after the Union, and especially the importance of the Protestant religion (in opposition to French Catholicism) throughout most of the British lands.²⁰ Colley also stresses the unity of Lowland Scottish landowners with the English social leaders, and identifies the Highlands as the distinctive cultural group; however her contention that in an age of poor communications, all parts of Britain had distinctive cultures, dialects and identities, seems to contradict her argument for British unity.²¹

The second main issue concerning Scottish culture after the Act of Union was the question of leadership. One of the most far-reaching consequences of the Act of Union was that the richest and most powerful of Scotland's ruling élite moved to London after the abolition of the Scottish parliament. It has been argued that after 1707 Scotland suffered from a lack of cultural leadership: James Erskine of Grange, writing in 1733, was not alone in voicing dismay at the political and social void created by the exodus of many of Scotland's landowners:

The country now, and for some years, has lookt on it self as deserted, not only by the courtiers, but by the principall of its nobility and gentry. Most of the nobility, including those of the first rank, and part of the gentry had gone, leaving behind some, mainly gentry, to take over the leadership of the country²²

A similar viewpoint to that of Lord Grange was voiced by his contemporary, William Maitland, who in 1753 wrote of Edinburgh:

Having before that Period, been the residence of the chief of the Scottish Nobility, it was then in a flourishing Condition; but being deserted by them, many of their houses are fallen down, and others in a ruinous Condition; it is a piteous case.²³

Recent research by Nicholas Phillipson, however, would suggest that the situation was not as bleak as James Erskine and William Maitland described. Though he does

¹⁹ C Kidd: *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 6, p. 268, pp. 211-2, pp. 214 ff

²⁰ L Colley: *Britons Forging the Nation*, chapter 1

²¹ Colley: *Britons Forging the Nation*, pp. 14 - 16

²² quoted by John Shaw in *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764*, p. 1

²³ W Maitland: *The History of Edinburgh from Its Foundation to the Present Time*, p. 151

not dispute the fact that some of the most wealthy and influential noblemen had departed, Phillipson describes Edinburgh between the Union and the 1780s as “a highly aristocratic city whose social life was dominated by the minor nobility, the more substantial gentry, and their dependents”.²⁴ (Phillipson of course also points out that these upper class remnants of the “old provincial oligarchy” would have transferred their social and political allegiances to London if they had been financially capable!)

The present work, on the musical involvement of Scottish landowners, may therefore have significant impact on the debate over cultural leadership in eighteenth century Scotland, which is an under-researched area at present. Very little has been written on the role of the landed classes in Scotland’s artistic life, and Farmer and Johnson hold diametrically-opposed views on the contribution of the aristocracy in a musical context. In a BBC broadcast of 1936, Farmer stated that

If it had not been for the patronage of the nobility, the landed gentry, and liberal professions, music, as an art, would scarcely have existed in Scotland in the eighteenth century.²⁵

In contrast, Johnson accords the landowners a very negligible role, commenting that there was no integration of the nobility to form a cultural élite, and that after the removal of the royal court to London in 1603 there was no example to follow in court patronage.²⁶ The role of the landowning families in Scotland’s musical development will be explored in the course of this thesis, and the significant implications this aspect of their cultural leadership may have for the wider debate on the nature of Scottish culture will be outlined in the final chapter of the work.

²⁴ N Phillipson: “Culture and Society in the Eighteenth-Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment” in *The University in Society* ed. L Stone, p. 422

²⁵ Typescripts of broadcasts on aspects of eighteenth-century Scottish music given by Farmer are held among the Farmer manuscripts in Glasgow University Special Collections, shelf mark Farmer 195.

²⁶ Johnson: *Music and Society*, p. 25 and p. 9

1.2 Thesis Objectives and Parameters

This work is a comprehensive report on the musical activities and the support of musicians by the families under survey, within the context of the wider role of the landowners as cultural leaders in eighteenth-century Scotland. Five major questions will be addressed in the course of the work:

- What was the role of music in the lives of the landowning families under survey?
- How significant were the landowners in Scotland's musical development in the eighteenth century?
- To what extent were the landowners cultural leaders?
- Could Scotland be described as an important centre for the development of classical music in the eighteenth century?
- How does this research add to current understanding of Scottish culture?

Both Johnson and Farmer have made some reference to music-making in various aristocratic establishments, but as Johnson acknowledges, this is an area which has hitherto been inadequately researched. There has been no overview of the musical interests of any group of Scottish gentry or aristocrats, and Johnson has gone as far as suggesting that Scotland was unsuited to classical music because the aristocracy was not interested in spending taxes on music.²⁷

For most of the families in the sample, this work is the first exploration of their interest in music during the eighteenth century. However, the musical achievements of two Scottish aristocrats discussed in this thesis, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and the 6th Earl of Kelly, have been reviewed and documented by others in recent years, and the account books of the Baillies of Mellerstain have also attracted the attention of several musicologists. In each of these cases the outcome of research for this thesis has resulted in a substantial increase in the body of knowledge: the aim of presenting a comprehensive survey of each family has necessarily meant an exploration of unresearched personalities (for example the sons and grandfather of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik) and unresearched timespans (for example, previous research on the Maules of Panmure has concentrated exclusively on the music acquired by the sons of the 2nd Earl in the 1680's). Other work on the musical interests of Scottish landowners

²⁷ Johnson: *Music and Society*, p. 9

which the present research aims to complement includes descriptions of several eighteenth-century Scottish aristocratic music collections, published, or in progress.²⁸

Whilst many exciting archival discoveries have been made in the course of this research — such as a 1728 sales catalogue of a massive private music collection — arguably the main value of the present work lies in its cross-disciplinary approach, and particularly in its focus on the cultural leadership of landowners in Scotland after the Act of Union. The work is the first to explore domestic musical activity in eighteenth-century Scotland (rather than investigate composers or musical establishments) and is distinctive in its attempt to place specifically musical developments in the cultural and social contexts of pre-modern Scotland.

The next section of this introductory chapter provides a broad overview of the lifestyle of landed class families in eighteenth-century Scotland, before more detailed information on the sample of families investigated in this thesis is presented. There has been no definitive study of landowners in eighteenth-century Scotland to date, and little research has been undertaken on the role of the landowners in society; although the information given in this chapter makes no pretence of filling this lacuna, nevertheless the research presented in this thesis on the influence of the landowners in musical developments may aid social historians in defining and clarifying the role of the landowning classes in post-Union Scotland. A description and assessment of the archival sources used in this research forms the final section of this chapter.

The main body of archival research has been presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis, which deal respectively with the active musical involvement of the families under survey, their more passive role as patrons of musicians, and the musical education of their children. The fifth chapter is concerned with musical tastes, and with the landowners' role as leaders of musical taste. From surviving music, library catalogues, receipts and sales catalogues, the music collections acquired during the

²⁸ C McCart: "The Panmure Manuscripts: A New Look at an Old Source of Christopher Simpson's Consort Music" in *Chelys* vol 18 (1989); P Cadell: "La Musique Française Classique dans la Collection des Comtes de Panmure" in *Recherches sur la Musique Française Classique* vol XXII (1984); B Cooper: "Catalogue of Early Printed Music in Aberdeen Libraries" in *RMA Research Chronicle* 14, 1978, pp. 2-138; R Williams: *Catalogue of the Castle Fraser Music Collection*; R Turbet: "The Music Collection of George Skene of Skene" in *Brio* vol 32 no 1 (1995); catalogue of music owned by the Baillies of Mellerstain under preparation by L Lindgren and A Hicks; catalogues of music at Brodie Castle, Leith Hall, Crathie Castle, and Drum Castle under preparation by R Williams.

eighteenth century by the families under survey have been reconstructed and analysed in terms of taste in domestic music making.

The role of landowners collectively, and of four important landowners individually, in promoting and sustaining musical developments in Scotland are assessed in the final chapter of the work. Conclusions are drawn on the place of music in the daily lives of the landowning families under survey, and Scotland's musical life is placed in the wider context of European cultural developments.

This study of the musical interests of landowners embraces the period from the last decade of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. The early-eighteenth-century timespan was deliberately chosen in an attempt to advance knowledge of the formative years of the art music tradition in Scotland, about which much less is known than about musical developments in the latter half of the century, when art music reached the peak of its popularity. The starting and finishing dates given in the title (1685 and 1760) were chosen with reference to the adult lifetime of the central figures in the families under survey. However, it was necessary to continue to pursue the musical interests of three families beyond 1760 (the Wemyss family from Gosford, the Murray family from Blair Atholl and the Rose family from Kilravock), as virtually no muniments survive from the beginning of the century for these families.

From the outset it was decided that the musical situation in the Highlands was outwith the scope of the thesis, and families were chosen from the lowland areas, to the east of a line running approximately from Banff to Helensburgh. Two families included in this survey had estates which lay within the Highland area (the Roses of Kilravock, and the Murrays of Atholl), but in their cultural and political involvement these families belonged to the ranks of the Lowland gentry rather than adhering to the strict hierarchy and feudal obligations of the decaying Highland clan system. Families in the west and south west of Scotland merit consideration, but time did not permit the investigation of, for example, the Campbell, Bute or Hamilton archives. Work would need to be done on these to develop more fully this picture of the significance of the landowning population in eighteenth-century musical life.

1.3 The Scottish Landowners - A Practical and Cultural Overview

Until the Great Reform Bill of 1832, the structure of Scottish society retained significant feudal elements. Landowners had always been the privileged élite of Scottish society, unrivalled in political and economic power, and recognised as the social leaders. Not only was ownership of land a prerequisite for political power, it was also seen as a symbol of status to which all the upper echelons of society aspired. Land was the greatest source of income, the most secure investment, and the most permanent asset; its proprietors were distinguished from the masses by their education, coats of arms, dress and gentlemanly demeanour.²⁹

The very nature of landownership gradually changed in Scotland from the middle of the seventeenth century. Traditionally the landowner had been the military chief of his estate, answering to the king, and able to summon a sizeable army on royal command, or to settle disputes with his neighbours. For this reason it was important for a landowner to employ the maximum number of peasants possible on his estate — manpower meant military power.³⁰ But as the rule of law was gradually asserted in the later seventeenth century, so the role of the landowner, at least in the Lowlands, changed to a more paternal model.³¹ By the early eighteenth century, the decreasing requirement of military presence was illustrated by a change in the design of country seats, from fortified towers with a single door and narrow windows, to splendid mansions (see illustration on page 13).³²

The landowners were not a homogenous group: they varied from the great magnates with over £2000 Scots annual income, to the smallest “bonnet-lairds”³³ with under

²⁹ G E Mingay: *The Gentry - The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*, p. 2

³⁰ Smout: *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 131

³¹ Smout: *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 263

³² R Houston and I Whyte: *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, introduction, p. 28

³³ According to Mitchison in *Lordship to Patronage*, p. 80, the term was coined by Walter Scott to indicate small landowners who farmed their own ground, as distinct from landlords, who leased the ground to others to farm. There has as yet been no systematic and comprehensive investigation of landed families in eighteenth-century Scotland. Details of the organisational framework, of the wealth and social standing of individual families, and of corporate identity are hard to find, and such a survey of the Scottish landed class would obviously be outwith the scope of the present work.

£100 Scots valued rent.³⁴ G E Mingay has illuminated a broad division among the English landowners into nobility and gentry, the former group consisting of all members of the peerage (Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons) and the latter formed of the Baronets, Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen.³⁵ Mark Bence-Jones reiterates the division of the peerage from the gentry, with the additional qualification that members of the peerage usually had income from town property, mines, harbours, etc. as well as from land rental.³⁶ Recent writings on Scottish landownership has categorised proprietors less categorically, with the terms “aristocracy”, “gentry”, “lairds”, and even “barons” often used generically of the entire landed class. Several authors, including Mitchison, Campbell and Timperley, have avoided ambiguity by merely using the word “landowner”, qualified by “greater”, “lesser” and “wealthy”.

Strictly, “aristocracy” ought only to be used in reference to the nobility, while “lairds” and “gentry” should both be taken to include all non-noble landowners. For this thesis, the terminology employed will be as shown in the table below.

Figure 1.1 Social Ranking: Terminology used in this thesis

| Nobility | | Gentry | |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Generic Terms</u> | <u>Dignities</u> | <u>Generic Terms</u> | <u>Rank / Dignities</u> |
| <i>peerage</i> | Duke | <i>lairds</i> | Baronet |
| <i>aristocracy</i> | Marquis | <i>lesser landowners</i> | Knight |
| <i>great landowners</i> | Earl | | Bonnet Laird |
| | Viscount | | |

³⁴ R H Campbell: ‘The Landed Classes’ in Devine and Mitchison: *People and Society in Scotland* volume 1, p. 91; Mitchison: *Lordship to Patronage*, p. 148

³⁵ Mingay, *The Gentry - The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*, p. 3

³⁶ M Bence-Jones: “The Trust of Landowning” in introduction to *Burke’s Landed Gentry*, 18th edition, p. xv

Figure 1.2 Castle Fraser and Duff House, Aberdeenshire, illustrating the changing architecture



The divisions between the social rankings of landowners were mainly economic — most gentry had the offer of a peerage when they became sufficiently wealthy.³⁷ There was social interaction between all ranks of peerage and gentry (and even with the richest merchants and professionals); many families acquired or extended their property through marriage to the son or daughter of a higher-ranking individual. Under the landowners was a whole substratum of farm-hands, from the wealthiest tenant farmers, who differed little in lifestyle from the poorest bonnet lairds, down to the impecunious cottars. Movement from the ranks of tenant farmer to bonnet laird was very difficult in Scottish society as land was rarely disposed of in affordable small packages.³⁸

The number of landowners was very small: estimates vary from 5,000 to 10,000 at the end of the seventeenth century, in a population estimated to be about a million.³⁹ The vast majority of these were very small landholders — Houston suggests c.8,000 small lairds in the late seventeenth century,⁴⁰ and this is endorsed by Mitchison, who estimates that 4/5 of around 10,000 landowners were bonnet lairds.⁴¹ At the other end of the scale, the number of aristocratic landowners is less than 500, but calculations of the exact figure vary widely. In the *Old Statistical Account* of 1814, Sir John Sinclair confidently asserted the number of these great landed families to be 396.⁴² From results presented by Timperley, it can be calculated that there were 336 landowners with valued rent over £2,000 in 1770.⁴³ Shaw states that 244 persons held Scottish peerages between 1707 and 1745⁴⁴; the assumption can be made that they were the greatest landowners at the time.

³⁷ Bence-Jones: "The Trust of Landowning", p. xvi

³⁸ Houston and Whyte: *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, p. 17

³⁹ Smout (p. 240) and Houston (p. 3) agree that the population was about one million, of which Smout suggests 5000 were landowners (p. 126). Mitchison (p. 80) estimates the number of landowners to be 10,000.

⁴⁰ Houston and Whyte: *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, p. 8

⁴¹ Mitchison: *Lordship to Patronage*, p. 80

⁴² Quoted in Smout: *History of the Scottish People*, p. 265

⁴³ L Timperley: "The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" in *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*, p. 150

⁴⁴ J Shaw: *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764*, p. 5

The discrepancies in the figures cited above can be explained partly by the fact that the statistics relate to different decades of the eighteenth century, and several trends in landownership would influence these. Firstly, many newly-rich merchants bought little estates, mainly in the vicinity of Glasgow, from the middle of the century. Secondly, the trend for rich professionals, especially advocates, to purchase small estates in Fife, the Borders and the Lothians increased. And thirdly, many small estates were bought by the greater landowners, resulting in fewer landholders each owning larger estates. There was also a particular demographic problem among the aristocracy throughout Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century: a lack of male children surviving to adulthood. Consequently, estates descended to female heirs, and about a third of the country's great estates fell into the hands of other noble families through opportune marriages during the century.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding these ambiguities, it can be seen that there was a wide variation in the pattern of landholding in eighteenth-century Scotland: a very small number of very large landowners, around 8000 bonnet lairds, and by inference, perhaps 1000 wealthy gentry and baronets who owned middling estates.

The privilege of being among the landed élite was not without its cost, and various formal and informal obligations were laid upon proprietors, regardless of income, in eighteenth-century Scotland. The lesser gentry were the controlling influence in local administration, and many held positions of Commissioner of Supply (in charge of apportioning and collecting tax), Justice of the Peace, or Sheriff-Depute. Until the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1747, lairds who held their land by wardhold (a feudal tenure where land was held from the king) were entitled to preside over their own baron court, at which all manner of petty crime and disputes between tenants could be settled.

All landed proprietors were classed as "heritors" and as such had responsibilities for local amenities such as the parish church, manse, school, and also for the upkeep of roads, bridges and ferries. Many lairds maintained a mill for grinding the locally-produced corn, and the upkeep of the poor of the parish fell largely to the heritors.

⁴⁵ L Colley: *Britons Forging the Nation*, pp. 156-7

1.3.1 Landed lifestyle in the early eighteenth century

The extent of involvement in local and national politics was perhaps the most important factor affecting the lifestyle of a landed family. The credential to vote in Scotland was confined to those landowners with £400 Scots annual income,⁴⁶ which restricted the voting role to under 2,000 names. Scotland was represented in the House of Commons by 45 MP's, and sixteen representative Scottish peers were elected to the House of Lords.

Scottish politicians were required to reside in London for most of the year: usually only the period from summer till harvest was spent on the Scottish estate.⁴⁷ Some of the wealthier purchased town houses in London; many rented accommodation. After the Union, London replaced Edinburgh as the cultural, social and intellectual focal point of the Scottish ruling class, and families aspiring to the social élite decamped *en masse* to the metropolis to reap the numerous benefits of town living: variety in food, extensive educational facilities, coffee houses, dancing assemblies, theatres and opera houses, pleasure gardens, music societies, glee clubs, tea parties and the London social season, where suitable matches and alliances would be contracted. From the evidence available in surviving accounts, it is clear that these cultural pursuits were one of the main attractions of London for the Scottish nobility. Not only did the immigrants frequent the theatres, opera houses and pleasure gardens, they can be seen among the leaders of cultural taste: Scotsmen owned two of the most successful music publishing companies (Robert Bremner, James Oswald), a Scottish architect (Robert Adam) was the most sought-after in Britain, and Scottish noblemen were behind the establishment of many significant cultural institutions, including the Royal Academy of Music and the Academy of Ancient Music.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Mitchison: *Lordship to Patronage*, p. 147

⁴⁷ Shaw: *Management of Scottish Society*, p. 6

⁴⁸ Voltaire in 1762 credited Scotland with leadership in artistic matters ("It is from Scotland that we receive rules of taste in all the arts"), discussed by Basil Skinner in *Scots in Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 13. Farmer mentions the Duke of Queensberry and the Earls of Abercorn, Stair and Eglinton as founders of the Academy of Ancient Music (c1710), the Royal Academy of Music (1719) and the London Catch Club (1761) in *A History of Scottish Music*, p. 241.

But even the very richest of Scotland's nobility found it hard to sustain the costs of London's social and political life. Residence in London created a class of 'absentee' Scottish landlords, and resulted in heavy (often crippling) financial burdens being placed on Scottish estates. Transport costs, along with expenditure on the rental of suitable property in or around London, increased expenditure on commodities and entertainments in London, and the cost of maintaining and improving the Scottish estate, was a heavy price for Scottish landowners to pay for Union with England. The costs of electioneering campaigns was also considerable, and especially so in the later eighteenth century, when heritable rights had to be carefully managed in order that a sufficient number of supportive voters could be brought to the polls.

Though the number of families involved in national politics at any given time was small, there was constant turnover in the ranks of politicians, and the competition for parliamentary seats is indicative of the prestige attached to national politics and desired by many Scottish landowners. However, there were families of all ranks of gentry and nobility who could not or did not become involved in national politics for one reason or another, and spent their lives on their Scottish estates. Shaw⁴⁹ lists 44 peers who were eliminated from central government between 1707 and 1745 because of a permanent career in the army; a further 11 of Scotland's noble families were Roman Catholic and therefore unfranchised. Jacobite families (24 listed) were also excluded, and later in the century, families who were heavily involved with Britain's foreign colonies took no part in the London political scene. There were also a number of nobles and gentry who spent their lives in Scotland in high office, or who devoted their lives to estate improvement, or who were in enforced retirement after opposing some major political development, such as the Act of Union. The lifestyle of landowners who spent most of the time on their Scottish estates differed substantially from that of the Scottish aristocracy in London.

⁴⁹ Shaw: *Management of Scottish Scottish Society*, appendix 2, pp. 194-201

1.3.2 Lifestyle on a Scottish estate

The landowners who spent their lives in Scotland (the majority) were generally of lesser means than those who chose to sustain a London-based lifestyle. Financial worries were a constant concern among most of the lesser nobility and gentry. Many lesser landowners, especially in the north of Scotland, lived very frugally indeed, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it could sometimes be difficult to distinguish the laird's house from those of the richest tenants.⁵⁰ The working day was long — often starting at 5 or 6 in the morning⁵¹ — and filled with domestic and agricultural duties for all members of the household in the less wealthy families. Sunday of course was a strictly-enforced day of rest. As the standard of living rose, and as wealth increased in the aftermath of the Act of Union, luxuries such as ceiling and wall plaster, wooden or brick floors and china crockery became common in the houses of the gentry.⁵² Many splendid stone-built country houses were commissioned by the Scottish lairds in the eighteenth century. Despite the increasing materialistic comforts, the rigorous discipline of the Presbyterian religion was retained in many Scottish families,⁵³ with emphasis on piety, restraint and personal devotion.

Marriage contracts were extremely important among the gentry and nobility, with the emphasis on upward mobility. Landowning parents made every effort to find a match for their sons and daughters from among the offspring of local landowners of their own rank or above; marriages to children from trade backgrounds were considered a definite step down. The aim of marriage of course was to produce a male heir for the estate. Daughters were a financial burden;⁵⁴ and opportunities for second, third and subsequent sons were limited early on in the century.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Plant: *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 31. Ramsay of Ochtertyre in *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 107, cites "the embarrassed circumstances of most country gentlemen" as an apology for the slovenliness of the architecture.

⁵¹ Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 8

⁵² Graham: *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 52

⁵³ Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 24

⁵⁴ Plant: *Domestic Life of Scotland*, p. 2

⁵⁵ Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, pp. 33-4

Improvements to the estate occupied a lot of the efforts of eighteenth-century landowners. Along with the improvements to houses mentioned above, proprietors also investigated other sources of income from their land, such as coal and lead mines. Forestry became a major preoccupation with many, and agricultural improvements, such as enclosures and new methods of husbandry, became predominant in the mid-eighteenth century. Improvements and developments of these kinds inevitably cost money, and often more than was available. Agricultural developments and extravagant expenditure in pursuit of fashions resulted in many bankruptcies in the mid-eighteenth century.

There were many other heavy financial burdens on a modest estate at this time, perhaps most significantly the provision of dowries for each daughter. Many Lowland estates were on wadset (a type of mortgage where the lender had free occupation of an area of the estate) to cover the cost of the marriage, or to repay debt. Regular tax burdens, and the collection of teinds (usually to support the parish minister) increased the financial pressure on a landowner, along with extraordinary expenditure such as soldiers being (forcibly) quartered on the laird's land. Even ordinary medical expenses could be prohibitive: doctors' fees were very high, and the cost of a rural call-out was considerable.⁵⁶

The financial problems were exacerbated by the fact that many rents had traditionally been paid "in kind", often in bolls of oats and wheat, eggs, and even with labour and carriage.⁵⁷ The frequent lack of ready cash was worsened by a scarcity in coinage in the early eighteenth century,⁵⁸ brought on by high inflation and steady devaluation of the Scottish pound, to the extent that by 1707 a Scottish shilling was worth an English penny.

There was very little time, or money, for the pursuit of culture in the average laird's house. Leisure time was a status symbol: the wealthiest landowners could afford cultural involvement, while the poorer gentry would be involved in domestic and

⁵⁶ Plant: *Domestic Life of Scotland*, p. 221

⁵⁷ Plant: *Domestic Life of Scotland*, p. 140; Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 4

estate business for much of their time (sewing and spinning occupied most “free” time for many women).⁵⁹ Socialising with neighbouring gentry was probably the most common form of diversion, perhaps because payment of rents “in kind” usually resulted in excessive supplies of perishable food. Life could be very isolated on rural estates, and visits by the neighbouring gentry, for meals or simply to converse or play cards, would have been extremely welcome in this age of poor communications. Socialising was also “the likeliest way to strengthen one’s influence and power”⁶⁰ — of vital importance in a society preoccupied with forming attachments and alliances to social superiors. A laird’s acquaintances would consist mainly of other members of the landowning class, along with perhaps the local minister, schoolteacher, or other educated professionals. Even the poorest of the gentry did not mingle very much with the tenantry.⁶¹

Other common and relatively inexpensive pursuits of the Scottish rural gentry were drinking,⁶² hunting, fencing, golf, archery,⁶³ cock-baiting, tossing dogs in blankets,⁶⁴ hawking, bowls,⁶⁵ or football. Reading was a very expensive hobby in the early eighteenth-century, and many households only owned Bibles and a few almanacs. However, there are catalogues of large libraries accumulated by wealthier Scottish families during the eighteenth century⁶⁶ which reveal a strong predilection for literature of a religious nature, or classical and historical works.

⁵⁸ Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 30

⁵⁹ Plant: *Domestic Life of Scotland*, p. 41

⁶⁰ Ramsay of Ochertyre: *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 138

⁶¹ H and K Kelsall: *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago*, pp. 85 - 86

⁶² Houston and Whyte: *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, p. 34; Ramsay: *Scotland and Scotsmen*, p. 75

⁶³ All cited by Houston and Whyte in *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, p. 34

⁶⁴ Cited by H and K Kelsall in *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago*, p. 91

⁶⁵ Graham: *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 15

⁶⁶ For example, JFK Johnstone’s catalogues of the libraries of Meldrum House, Haddo House and Monymusk House, Aberdeenshire; or the 1725 catalogue of the library of the Baillies of Mellerstain referred to below (ch 5, p. 154)

1.4 Landowning Families Surveyed in this Work

A small sample of families was selected for intensive investigation, the main factor in their selection being the accessibility of muniments.⁶⁷ Interest in most of the families involved derived from some reference to their musical involvement in secondary literature, or through their inclusion in music society membership lists and subscription lists. The sample of families cannot therefore be seen as necessarily or unconditionally representative of the musical interests of the entire Scottish landowning population as some known musical involvement was a factor in their selection; further work would need to be done on a wider sample of landowners to enable firmer conclusions to be drawn on the landowners' collective role in Scotland's musical development.

The landowners on whose musical interests detailed analysis has been undertaken do however represent a wide spectrum of upper-class society, and vary widely in terms of wealth, political involvement and lifestyle. Information on the valued rent of lands, and parishes in which land is owned, along with information on political positions, is given below for each of the families to be discussed in subsequent chapters. Biographical information and political appointments have been cited from the *Scots Peerage* (ed J Balfour Paul), de Brett's *Complete Peerage and Baronetage* and William Anderson's *The Scottish Nation*, and a summary of each family tree is given in Appendix 1 of this work, again compiled from the same biographical sources.

Some indication of economic status of individual families can be drawn from Loretta Timperley's valuable work on the geographic spread of landowners in eighteenth-century Scotland.⁶⁸ Timperley's work is based on valuation rolls for each county for the year 1770 (or as close as possible), and lists all landowners by parish in each of Scotland's 45 counties. A 'valued rent' is given for each property in Timperley's *Directory of Landownership*: this is not the actual rent paid on the land, but instead is the rent for the year 1656 (the figure was used throughout the eighteenth century).

⁶⁷ This has nevertheless been a constant source of problems. See pp. 30-7 below for full details.

⁶⁸ L Timperley: 'The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' in *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*; and L Timperley: *Directory of Landownership in Scotland, c 1770*

As Shaw points out,⁶⁹ the valued rent was sometimes falsified out of vanity, or to avoid paying additional land tax (cess), and must be viewed with some caution. The sums are obviously increasingly obsolete as the century progresses, but the relative position of owners remains approximately accurate. As these valued rents give some indication of economic status, the 1770 values supplied by Timperley have been cited for the families in this survey.

NOBILITY

Hope, Earl of Hopetoun

- LAND OWNED: Ormiston, Ecclesmachan, Humble, Gladsmuir, Haddington, Aberlady, Pencaitland, North Berwick – all East Lothian. Linlithgow, Torphichen, Kirkliston, Mid Calder, Abercorn, Bathgate – all West Lothian. Crichton – Mid Lothian. Crawford, Crawfordjohn – Lanarkshire. Craighall, Inverkeithing – Fife. Moffat, Wamphray – Dumfries.
- VALUED RENT: £38,430
- FAMILY HISTORY: Charles, who laid the foundations for Hopetoun House, was created first Earl of Hopetoun, and Viscount of Airthrie in 1703. He had thirteen children, and was succeeded by his eldest son John (1704 - 1781) in 1742. Earl John married three times and had sixteen children who survived past infancy, of whom the four sons and three daughters born to his first wife Lady Anne Ogilvie are the most relevant to the present study.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: Charles, 1st Earl, was MP for Linlithgowshire from 1702, a member of the Privy Council from 1703, and a representative peer from 1722-42. John, 2nd Earl, held a civil post: Lord of Police, from 1742, and led an anti-Argyll faction in the 1750's.

⁶⁹ Shaw: *Management of Scottish Society*, p. 3

Maule, Earl of Panmure

- LAND OWNED: Brechin, Edzell, Glenesk, Lethnot, Bervie, Arbirlot, Inverkeillor – all in Angus
- VALUED RENT: £24,470
- FAMILY HISTORY: Four surviving children were born to George, 2nd Earl and his wife Lady Jean Campbell: George, born about 1655, succeeded as 3rd Earl in 1671, died 1686; James, born 1658, succeeded as 4th Earl in 1686, died without children (1723) in exile in France; Harie (or Henry), 1659 - 1734, the 'Laird of Kellie' (Arbroath) who compiled the *Registrum de Panmure* with his first son James; and Marie, who married Charles Erskine, Earl of Mar. The Panmure estates were the largest of all the properties confiscated by the crown in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite rising, but were bought back in 1764 for £49,157 by William, 2nd son of Harie, 1699-1782, who was created Earl of Panmure of Forth in the Irish Peerage, 1743.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: James, 4th Earl, was a Privy Councillor in 1685, but was removed in 1687 for non-compliance over Roman Catholic penal laws, and later refused to take the oath of loyalty to King William. Both James and Harie participated in the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, raising troops to fight in the Battle of Sherrifmuir on 13 November; the Panmure estate was forfeited and James was forced to flee to the exile court at St Germain. William, Earl of Panmure of Forth, was MP for Forfarshire, 1735 to 1782.

Lord Colville of Ochiltree

- LAND OWNED: Cleish in Kinross-shire.
- VALUED RENT: not known
- FAMILY HISTORY: Robert, 2nd Lord Colville, succeeded his uncle in 1662 and died 1671, leaving his widow, Margaret Wemyss, and a son and 2 daughters. Margaret was imprisoned in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh in 1684 for bringing up her son "in fanaticism and disloyalty". Robert, 3rd Lord Colville, took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in 1700, was listed as a non-Jurant in the British parliament in 1713, and was a known opponent of the Act of Union. He died in 1728 and the Cleish estate passed to his nephew Robert Ayton.

Murray, Duke of Atholl

- LAND OWNED: Blair Atholl, Achtergaven, Blackford, Blairgowrie, Caputh, Clunie, Crieff, Dunkeld, Fortingall, Little Dunkeld, Logiealmond, Logierait, Moneydie, Redgorton, Tibbermore, Trinity-Gask - all Perthshire. Falkland, Fossoway – Fife.
- VALUED RENT: £26,419
- FAMILY HISTORY: The two earldoms of Atholl and Tullibardine were joined in 1670, when John Murray, 2nd Earl of Atholl (died 1703), became Earl of Tullibardine on the death of his cousin. He was created Marquis of Atholl in 1676, and his son and heir (also John Murray) was created 1st Duke of Atholl and Marquis of Tullibardine in 1703. The first Duke (1660 - 1724) married twice and had seven sons and six daughters by his first wife, and four sons and three daughters by his second wife. He was succeeded by his third son James (1690 - 1764) who succeeded to the English Peerage as Earl of Derby in 1736.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: The Atholl family were influential in Parliament and loyal to King William and Queen Anne. The First Duke was Secretary of State for Scotland (1696-8), Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland in 1696, a Privy Councillor from 1703, a Representative Peer from 1710-15 and Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1712-14. His eldest son John died in 1709, and the second, fourth and fifth sons (William, Charles and George) turned Jacobite (Lord George Murray masterminded the campaign of 1745); the estate devolved on the third son, James, who as second Duke was a Representative Peer (1733-6), and a Captain in the First Foot Guards.

Wemyss, Earl of Wemyss

- LAND OWNED: (excluding Amisfield Estates in East Lothian) Haddington, Innerwick, Prestonkirk, Tranent, Whittingham, Aberlady – all East Lothian. Auchterderran, Auchtertool, Markinch, Wemyss – all Fife.
- VALUED RENT: £23,952
- FAMILY HISTORY: David, 4th Earl (c1678-1720) was succeeded by his son James (1699-1757), who married the heiress of the Amisfield estates in East Lothian. They had seven surviving children – 3 sons and 4 daughters – with whom most of the material of musical relevance cited henceforth is concerned. The eldest son, David (1721-87), joined in the 1745 Jacobite rebellion and was exiled, and the Wemyss title was assumed by his brother Francis Charteris of Amisfield. The Wemyss estates in Fife (but not the title) passed eventually to the youngest of the three brothers, James.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: David, 4th Earl, was Lord High Admiral, a Privy Councillor, one of the Commissioners for the Union, and a Representative Peer 1707-10.

GENTRY

Sir John Clerk, Baronet of Penicuik

- LAND OWNED: Penicuik, Lasswade, Glencorse – Mid Lothian
- VALUED RENT: £3,487
- FAMILY HISTORY: John, 1st Baronet, died in 1722 and was succeeded by his son John (1676 - 1755), who married twice and had nine sons and seven daughters.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: 1st Baronet was MP for Edinburgh 1690 - 1702. 2nd Baronet was a Commissioner for the Union 1706-7, and a Baron of the Exchequer from 1707-55.

George Baillie of Jerviswood and Mellerstain

- LAND OWNED: Kirkland and Jerviswood – Lanarkshire. Mellerstain, Gordon, Nenthorn – Berwickshire. Melrose, Smailholm – Roxburghshire.
- VALUED RENT: £9,817
- FAMILY HISTORY: Two surviving children were born to George Baillie (died 1738) and Grisell, daughter of Earl of Marchmont: Grisell (1692-1759), who married George Murray of Stanhope in 1710 (separated 1714), inherited Mellerstain and Jerviswood estates on the death of her father; Rachel (1696-1773), who married Charles Lord Binning, heir to the 6th Earl of Haddington in 1720, and had three sons (the eldest succeeded his grandfather as 7th Earl of Haddington) and two daughters surviving.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: George Baillie was a Protestant, exiled in Holland during reign of James VII (1685-8), and MP for Lanarkshire 1703-1725.

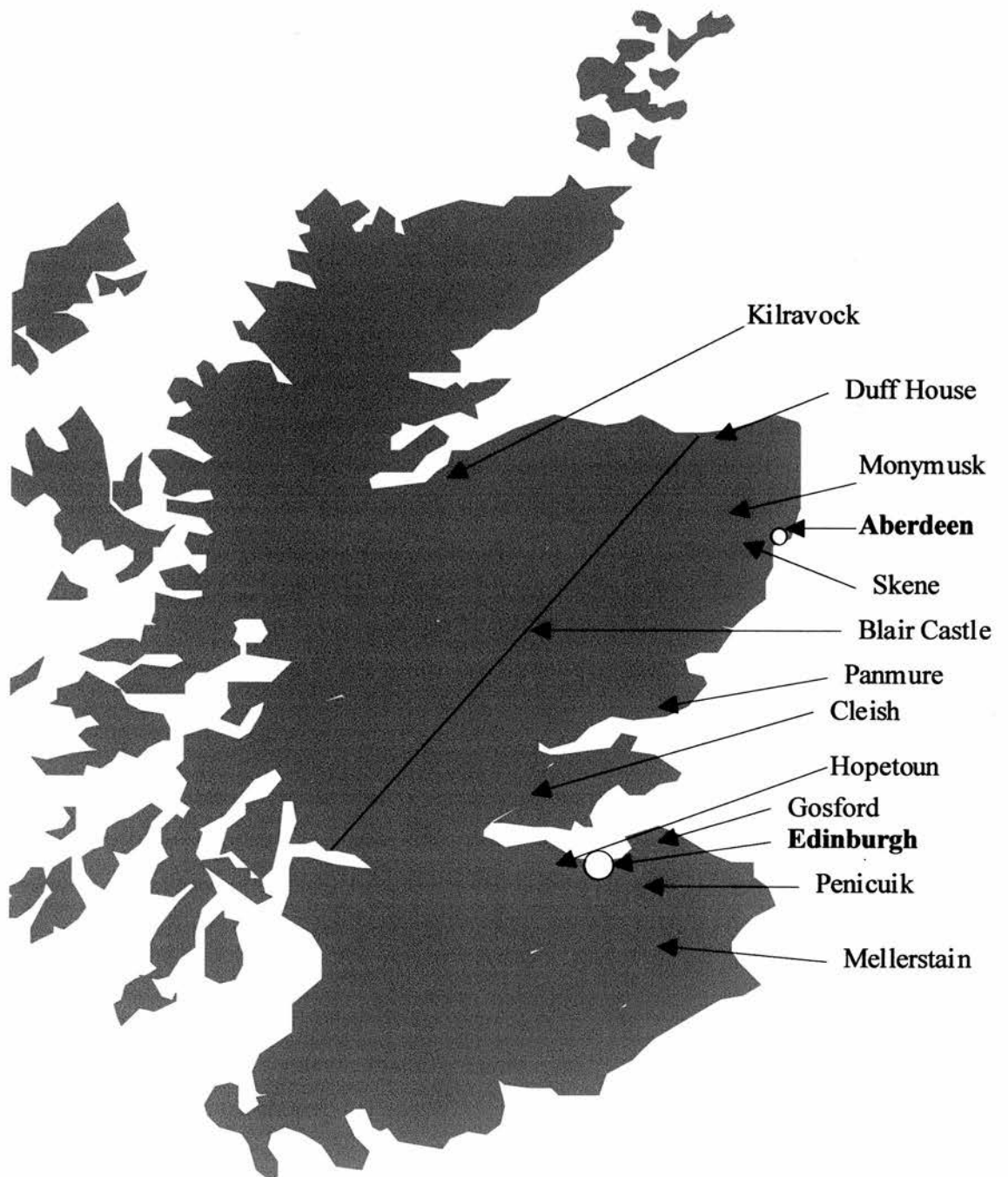
Archibald Grant, Baronet of Monymusk and Cullen

- LAND OWNED: whole of Monymusk, and land in Inverurie. Chapel of Garioch and Oyne parishes – Aberdeenshire.
- VALUED RENT: £2,909
- FAMILY HISTORY: Francis Grant of Cullen (1658 - 1726), an Advocate, created 1st Baronet in 1705, and bought Monymusk estate in 1713. He married three times, and had two sons and three daughters by his first wife. Succeeded by his son Archibald (1696 - 1778), who was admitted Advocate in 1714, and married four times, having surviving children (including Archibald, future 3rd Baronet, 1731 - 1796) by his second wife.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: 1st Baronet supported William of Orange in the Revolution of 1688, and was a proponent of the Act of Union. 2nd Baronet was an MP 1722 - 32 but was expelled for his part in the disappearance of the books of the Charitable Corporation. Famed as an agricultural improver, and also for reviving church music.

Hugh Rose, Laird of Kilravock

- LAND OWNED: Croy, Petty – Inverness. Kinloss – Moray. Kilravock and Geddes in Nairnshire.
- VALUED RENT: £4,476
- FAMILY HISTORY: Hugh Rose, 15th Laird (1663-1732), married five times (at least nine surviving children) . Succeeded by eldest son Hugh (16th Laird), 1684 - 1755, who was educated in Edinburgh and Leiden. He was succeeded by eldest son, Hugh (17th Laird), 1705 – 1772, who studied law, and was admitted Advocate in 1729.
- POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: 15th Laird was a Representative Peer in the first parliament, and voted against Union but for Protestant succession; also sheriff of Ross-shire. He raised troops to defend Inverness against the Jacobites in 1715. The 16th Laird was an MP for Ross-shire.

Figure 1.3 Map Showing Location of Landowners' Seats



1.4.1 Archives

Assessing the musical life of these families necessitated a careful trawl through eighteenth century accounts, correspondence, library catalogues, memoirs and diaries;⁷⁰ accessing material and locating relevant documents were the main challenges in this research. The easiest collections to access were those which have, wholly or partly, been deposited in the National Library of Scotland or the National Archives of Scotland. Most of the documentary material relating to the Maules of Panmure is in the National Archives of Scotland (GD 45), and is well catalogued. The collection is good in that material from most categories of documents (accounts, travel journals, inventories, correspondence, miscellaneous, library catalogues) has survived, and the accounts especially are very comprehensive. A few music manuscripts were also deposited in the National Archives of Scotland, and a further collection of music was acquired by the National Library of Scotland.⁷¹ Investigation of the archives was confined to the period 1680 – 1723, when the 4th Earl died. He was the last of his line, and had no family.

Most of the archive from Penicuik House is also deposited in the National Archives of Scotland (GD 18), and is well-catalogued and easily accessed. The eighteenth-century material is scant in some respects, especially accounts, and it is probable that some relevant documents were destroyed in a fire which engulfed Penicuik House in 1899. A selection from the memoirs of the 2nd Baronet was published in 1892 by the Scottish History Society,⁷² and the publication fortunately includes references from a travel journal which was lost in the fire seven years later. Music from Penicuik House has also been deposited in the National Archives of Scotland, and a group of compositions by the 2nd Baronet are among the collection (discussed in Chapter 6 of this work, pp. 224-7).

The National Archives of Scotland also houses some archival material for the Grants of Monymusk (GD 345), which is on restricted access. The cataloguing appears less thorough than in the two collections discussed above, and finding the relevant material was more a matter of luck. Nevertheless, interesting information was found in household inventories and account books – which are unfortunately not

⁷⁰ Selections of memoirs and archival material have been published (by a historic club or by the Historic Manuscripts Commission) for a few families in the survey; the following paragraphs indicate where such material was available for consultation.

⁷¹ Full details are given in Chapter 5, pp. 153, 161-2

⁷² J Gray, editor: *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk, 1676-1755*, Scottish History Society volume 13

comprehensive for the first half of the eighteenth century. Several volumes of music owned by the family are now in the National Library of Scotland, and tantalising references to a huge music collection at Monymusk House have been made in recent literature.⁷³ Though the present baronet has failed to respond to enquiries regarding this, Roger Williams of Aberdeen University has received assurances from the family that there is no longer any music there.

The muniments of four families were examined at the family country seats: the Murrays at Blair Atholl, the Hopes at Hopetoun House, the Wemyss family at Gosford and the Baillie family at Mellerstain.⁷⁴ The Hope papers were catalogued by the NRAS (survey 888), and the archivist there was especially knowledgeable and helped considerably in the quest for relevant accounts, correspondence and inventories. The Hopetoun collection is enormous, with the catalogue running to twelve microfiche cards, and as documents with musical relevance are rarely distinguished in the catalogue, it is hard to be sure everything significant has been found. Though most of the account ledgers for the eighteenth century are in Hopetoun House, the system of entering information into each series of accounting ledgers was difficult to decipher. There are a very few volumes of eighteenth-century music at Hopetoun House, and the archivist supplied a Sotheby's catalogue (dated 1889) for a sale of books from the house, which included some early printed music. Most of the archival documents relate to the 1750's and 1760's when the children of the 2nd Earl were growing up; the archive is very sparse in material from the first two decades of the century.

The Atholl family papers were also catalogued by the NRAS (survey 234) and are housed at Blair Castle, Perthshire. Accounts from the first three decades of the eighteenth century are lacking, and might have been deliberately destroyed, as the family was under suspicion of disloyalty early in the eighteenth century, and perhaps incriminating evidence was contained in the account books. Many documents from the archive were included in the family history, *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families*. The first five volumes of this, covering the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, were compiled by the 7th Duke and published in 1908. The

⁷³ In his RMA Research Chronicle survey of early printed music in Aberdeen libraries, Barry Cooper described a "large and valuable collection" of music still at Monymusk House.

⁷⁴ Though time in these was more limited as a charge was made for access, it will be seen that a huge amount of relevant data was found in these collections. Locating further relevant material would now necessitate a thorough search of the entire archive – a massive job.

present archivist, Mrs Jane Anderson, has added a sixth volume to the series which encompasses the twentieth century.

The Wemyss papers at Gosford House were catalogued by the NRAS (survey 208) but few survive, and all are from the second half of the eighteenth century. Only one volume of accounts (1756-1762) and a large collection of eighteenth century printed music could be made available for consultation. The present Lady Wemyss kindly supplied musical references from the only other relevant document at Gosford: the account ledger from 1766-1772. According to Michael Wemyss, the present incumbent of Wemyss Castle in Fife, there is no material from the eighteenth century, nor music from the same time, at Wemyss Castle, which was passed to the youngest of the three sons of the 5th Earl.

A significant amount of eighteenth century material relating to the Baillies of Mellerstain is held in Mellerstain House in the Borders. The NRAS surveys are confusing: old survey number 104, of the Earl of Haddington's muniments, was replaced in 1996 by survey 3503, which no longer contains the Mellerstain inventory from survey 104. A different version of the original Mellerstain survey was produced in 1968, and appears in the brown series of NRAS surveys at West Register House. Access was given to library catalogues and some accounts listed in the NRAS survey on a visit to Mellerstain in 1996, but subsequent access to the documents was denied (repeatedly) and there is much material which could not therefore be consulted. The most important documents at Mellerstain are two volumes of Lady Grisell Baillie's Household Book, which are comprehensive accounts for the period 1719-1746. The original manuscript of the first volume, encompassing the years 1692-1718, is missing at present (which is the reason access is now denied to the Mellerstain muniments), but fortunately a photocopy of this had been made which was consulted in the National Museum of Scotland. Extracts from the Household Books were printed in 1911 by the Scottish History Society.⁷⁵

Archival material relating to two of the families under survey has proved elusive, despite intensive efforts. Locating relevant documents from the Rose family of

⁷⁵ W Scott-Moncrieff, editor: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, Scottish History Society, 2nd Series, volume 1.

Kilravock, Inverness, seemed straight forward: the printed *Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*⁷⁶ makes copious references to archival material which seems to have been at Kilravock till the mid-eighteenth century. The volume was based on two earlier accounts of the family which were edited and expanded in the nineteenth century by Cosmo Innes, who states in the preface, “. . . by joining to the ‘genealogical deduction’ [of Hew Rose] a selection from the papers of the family which happen to be in my hands . . .”. One volume of accounts particularly seemed to have many entries of musical relevance, and determined efforts were made to find these documents and hopefully uncover a wealth of material on domestic music-making at the castle. Family tradition holds that orchestral music was regularly performed by the family and their friends, and the huge collection of printed music owned by the family in the eighteenth century certainly suggests that a significant proportion of expenditure was on musical pursuits.

The documents which the Rose family deposited in the National Archives of Scotland (GD 125) were the most readily accessible, though the ‘finding list’ was an extremely inadequate (and apparently temporary!) catalogue. After three weeks of trawling through these documents, little of musical relevance had been unearthed – most documents were late eighteenth-century, and consisted mainly of correspondence of Elizabeth Rose, the 18th Baroness – and certainly there was no sign of the accounts which Cosmo Innes had used in his preparation of the *Genealogical Deduction*. One volume of eighteenth-century estate accounts (MS 17950) and some miscellaneous correspondence are the total holdings of Rose of Kilravock material in the National Library of Scotland, and there is no NRAS survey of muniments held elsewhere.

Having had no reply to letters sent to Kilravock Castle, enquiring if archival material is still held there, the former factor, Mr Alistair Forbes, was contacted. He recalled documents being deposited with an Inverness solicitor when the administration of the castle was taken on by a trust in the 1970’s. These documents, now held by James Stewart, solicitor, 57 Culduthel Road, Inverness, were checked, but they consisted entirely of old writs and other legal documents relating to landownership.

It appears that everything was removed from the building when the castle was taken on by the trust: the muniments went mainly to the National Archives of Scotland, the

⁷⁶ Cosmo Innes, editor: *The Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*, for the Spalding Club

music collection was sold (and purchased by the National Library of Scotland), and legal documents were deposited with a local solicitor. The eighteenth-century accounts may have been destroyed or removed by this time, or they might have been sold or deposited somewhere else (no local history or historian has been able to suggest where else they might have been placed). The only person who might have been able to confirm this is the present Baroness Rose, with whom I was unable to make contact.

One further line of enquiry was pursued. Cosmo Innes had stated that the documents he used were in his possession, and he was well-known for borrowing important documents and not returning them.⁷⁷ Working on the assumption that the eighteenth-century accounts from Kilravock might possibly have been acquired and retained by Innes, attempts were made to investigate the contents of his own library. There are four deposits of Innes papers catalogued by the Historic Manuscript Commission, but there is no record of Rose material among these. Letters in Edinburgh University Laing Collection⁷⁸ suggested that a part of Innes' library was bought by the Mitchell library in Glasgow. Some 2000 items were indeed purchased by the Mitchell library in 1874, but the library failed to catalogue Innes' collection because it was a purchase rather than a bequest, and merely added the volumes to the existing Mitchell Library catalogue, with no identification on their provenance. A search in each Mitchell Library catalogue for manuscripts connected with Kilravock or including the name "Rose" produced no result.

The other family for which extensive enquiries have failed to turn up archival material is the Colvilles of Ochiltree, or rather, the 3rd and final Lord Colville. Even biographical information is very scant, with not even his birth date or place of burial being stated in the Peerage, and other main biographical works. Lord Colville is cited in a list of Scottish Peers of 1713, and also as a non-Jurant, in the Portland Manuscripts.⁷⁹ Alan MacDonald of St Andrews University was able to confirm that Colville was present in the Scottish Parliament from 1700 to 1706, and that he was a

⁷⁷ This is suggested by R Innes-Smith in a discussion of Cosmo Innes (who was Professor of History at Edinburgh University), in his book, *The House of Innes*, p. 46.

⁷⁸ Edinburgh University Special Collections La.IV.17. My thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr N O'Regan, for checking the Laing letters.

⁷⁹ Historic Manuscripts Commission no.29, Portland Manuscripts, volume 5, pp. 313-4

commissioner of supply for Kinross, Fife and Perthshire.⁸⁰ But Colville's name does not appear in the standard reference books on the Scottish parliament,⁸¹ nor, interestingly, do the House of Lords archivists have Colville listed as a peer in the British parliament.

There is one single document relating to Lord Colville in the National Library of Scotland, MS 5290, which is a set of accounts by the factor of Colville's Cleish estate dating from 1708-1719. Neither his name, nor the name of his estate, features in the catalogues for the National Register of Archives of Scotland and the National Archives of Scotland, nor in catalogues for local libraries (Alloa and Kinross). Very recently however, title deeds for the Cleish estate, two of which are from the early eighteenth century and signed by Lord Colville, were acquired by Perth Library (MS 183), from the Meldrum family. The Cleish records of baptisms are only extant from 1700, and the records of the Commissioners of Supply for the area date from 1731; neither source helps. An unsuccessful attempt was made to find a will,⁸² but the volume of signatures for Cleish in 1729 (in the index to which Colville's name is listed) has been missing for many years (the volume is Sig 1/31/10 in the National Archives of Scotland). There are two entries in the Register of Seals regarding Colville's estate, the first dated 1706 (C2/82 f38) and the second dated 1729, when Colville's nephew Robert Ayton was granted the whole barony of Cleish (C2/92 f. 82).

⁸⁰ The information is from volumes 10 and 11 of *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed T Thomson and C Innes. Many thanks to Dr MacDonald of the Scottish Parliament Project at St Andrews University for extrapolating this information on Colville.

⁸¹ Margaret Young: *The Parliaments of Scotland: Burgh and Shire Commissioners*; J Foster: *Members of Parliament Scotland 1357-1882*; R Tait: *Parliaments of Scotland*

⁸² There is a will by "Robert. Lord of Ochiltre", in another volume in the National Archives of Scotland (CC 20/4/16) but as this is dated 28 November 1695, it does not appear to be that of either the 2nd or the 3rd Lord Colville.

1.4.2 Summary of Available Archives

A wide range of archival sources was available for the families under survey, including correspondence, estate, household and personal account books, inventories, bundles of discharges and receipts, and personal memorabilia, including diaries and travel journals. Of these, the most useful in assessing musical involvement were undoubtedly household accounts, which, where available, list payments to teachers, purchase and repairs of instruments, and often also the purchase of music and concert tickets. Unfortunately, comprehensive accounts were extant for only one of the families under survey: the Baillies of Mellerstain. Some accounts exist for the Atholl, Clerk, Maule, Hope and Grant families for some of the period under investigation, and for later in the century for the Wemyss family. More comprehensive household accounts for these families and for the Colville and Rose families may never have existed, or may have been destroyed accidentally (for example, many items relating to the Clerk family perished in the fire at Penicuik House in 1899). Some families may not have realised the value of the sources, and thrown out material at some point; the lack of success in finding muniments for the Rose and Colville families might suggest that archival documents have been destroyed.

The absence of financial records for most families in the survey was disappointing, and surprising. However, other sources could be useful in building a picture of musical activities: discharges, household inventories (which often list musical instruments) and library catalogues (which might include music), correspondence and personal memorabilia. Accidental references to music contained in these sources were rarely acknowledged in the catalogues to the collections, and copious trawling through discharges or inventories often produced little result. Correspondence was particularly frustrating as a source of information, as there is a huge body of extant material and very few references of musical significance. For all families the cataloguing of the muniments was problematic, and the accuracy with which relevant documents could be located varied enormously depending on whether the material had been catalogued by experienced researchers in the National Library or the National Archives of Scotland, or catalogued by a keeper at a country seat, or had

only been cursorily summarised. The amount of material within each call number also varied considerably, and call numbers can command anything from a single document in some collections, to perhaps a hundred receipts or letters in other collections. For some families only a small number of documents have been used,⁸³ such as the Household Books for the Baillie and Wemyss families, but these single “documents” contain a wealth of information, perhaps equivalent to several hundred discharges in other archives. In some instances, source material was in poor condition, with blots, moth holes and perished paper which made reading difficult. But legibility and deciphering handwriting was not a problem in the majority of cases.

To summarise: accessing relevant material was considerably more difficult than had been anticipated, due to inconsistent cataloguing and lack of survival of sources, especially for the Rose and Colville families, and to a lesser extent for the Atholl, Wemyss, Hope and Clerk families. Access to the Baillie collection was denied altogether latterly which was very disappointing. However, despite the gaps in archival evidence, a sufficiently wide range of materials has been accessed and consulted to enable a general picture of the musical involvement of the sample of landowners to be built up and discussed in the following chapters.

⁸³ A full list of documents consulted is given in Appendix 2.

Chapter 2

Participation in Musical Activities by the Scottish Landed Classes

The crux of this thesis is the extent to which the landed classes were involved in the musical life of Scotland in the eighteenth century. In this chapter, the active participation in musical activities of the families under survey will be explored and assessed, through reference to account books, discharges, household inventories, paintings, correspondence and other writings. Purchase of musical instruments and maintenance of these, along with expenditure on printed music, is documented for each of the families under survey. From this information, along with written references to music evenings and paintings of domestic music-making, some idea of the extent and nature of musical activities in an upper-class household can be gauged. By contrast, the third section of the chapter examines expenditure on public musical entertainment and the involvement in music societies by the families under survey. Evidence for expenditure on tickets to concerts and on music society subscriptions is found in the family account books, as well as through occasional references in letters and journals.

In the final section of this chapter, the prevailing attitude to musical activities is examined, and the musical activities of the sample of landowning families under survey are assessed.

2.1 Expenditure on Instruments and Music

Many of the accounts accessed held a wealth of information on musical expenditure by the families under survey. The greatest part of the expenditure was on the purchase and maintenance of instruments. This will be described for each family in the following paragraphs, and some analysis will be offered on the trends in instrument purchase and costs throughout the century. Expenditure on printed music is also mentioned in the accounts for some families, and this information has elucidated the picture of domestic music-making.

The household book entries of the Baillies of Mellerstain give a comprehensive picture of money disbursed on sundry expenses, on servants and their clothing, on family clothing, on furniture and furnishings, and on horses, doctors, estate expenses, cess and pocket money as appropriate. It is in the first of these categories that the music expenditure is found, and along with detailed records of payments to music teachers (see Chapter 4) there are various references to expenditure on instruments, most of which refer to keyboard instruments. In March 1719 there is the record of the purchase of "The French Spinits", bought for £11-11, with a further £3-18 paid for the "fraught & Custom of the Spinits": the instrument was obviously imported directly from France. Another spinet was bought in 1733 during the Baillie family's two-year sojourn in Italy.

The expense to which the Baillie family went to maintain the instruments is an indication of the prominent place music held in their domestic lifestyle. In 1714 the "fine virginal" was sent from Mellerstain to London to be mended, at a cost of £12-10 plus £2 in freight charges. This would imply that there was no harpsichord builder of sufficient expertise working in Edinburgh at this time.¹ One of the most puzzling items of expenditure on keyboard instruments is an accessory for a harpsichord bought in 1707 at a cost of £14-4-0 (Scots), reported as a "raffile" in Scott-Moncrieff's printed extracts from the Household books. This may be a misprint for "taffile", indicating the German or Dutch word for a table - ie a stand for the harpsichord - or perhaps the French word for a jack-tongue, "bascule".

The terminology used to refer to keyboard instruments in the Baillie Household Books is interesting. The "fine virginal" which was repaired in London is more likely to have been a harpsichord, as the virginal *per se* was outmoded by this time, and "virginals" continued to be used as a generic term for keyboard instruments throughout the eighteenth century. There are various references to tuning in which all three words (spinet, virginals and harpsichord) appear to be used interchangeably. 15s 6d was paid "To a man from Edinburgh to tune the spinets and virginells" in February of 1710, while only spinets and harpsichords are mentioned in the payments made to tuners after the family moved to London in 1715:

¹ Boalch lists no makers in Scotland in the early eighteenth century in *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*. The London makers to whom the instrument may have been sent (as documented by Boalch) include John Player (who may however have been dead by 1714), Stephen Keene, Thomas Hitchcock, Thomas Barton, and Cawton Aston, of whom the most expert was probably Keene.

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| April 1716 | For tuning the spinets | 0 2 6 |
| Novr 25 1716 | For tuning the Spinets 2 times | 0 5 0 |
| June 1717 | For tuning the Spinets | 2s 6d |
| March 2 1719 | tuning spinets | 5s |
| June 3d 1720 | tuning Harpsichords 10s 2s6d 7s6d | £1 |
| Aug (1725) | For tuning spinets | 5s |
| Jan 1728 | tuning Grisies harpsicords | 7s 6d |

The instruments appear only to have been tuned every 3-6 months, at a cost of 2s 6d each time.

Most of the expenditure by the Baillie family on instruments relates to keyboard instruments, but there is also evidence in the account books that other instruments were studied by the daughters of Lady Grisell Baillie: a flute was purchased for £6 on 20 November 1702, and £2 was paid in Edinburgh in January 1707 for mending a viol. Music was also purchased on several occasions, and at great expense – for example, two singing books were bought for £1-09 each on 28 February and 20 May 1702, and Crumbden was paid £1-04 for a book in June of that year.

Though the archives at Hopetoun House are vast, there are surprisingly few accounts surviving from the first forty years of the eighteenth century, when Charles was 1st Earl of Hopetoun. Factors' accounts from 1708-23 survive,² and these contain mainly large repayments on bonds and obligations. Among these is a single receipt of musical interest, for an organ bought in Amsterdam from Estienne Roger in 1703, for £10.³ This instrument was probably bought for Henrietta Johnson, daughter of Lord Annandale of Craigiehall, who married Charles, future 1st Earl of Hopetoun in 1699. Her musical interest is documented in a household account book for 1698, now in the Hopetoun archive, which includes payments for singing and harpsichord instruction, purchase of a dozen strings for £1-03-05, and a payment of £1-13-06 "to fiddlers at Craigiehall" on 17 June 1698.⁴

The only other early account from the Hopetoun archive to yield anything of musical interest is the *Private Accompt 1734-61 of Money received and debursed by John Lord Hope*,⁵ which include 2 payments of a guinea to the Music Society in Edinburgh in each of the years 1735, 1736 and 1737, and a final payment in June 1738 ("This was the last pa^t before I left it"). Lord Hope also paid a 2 guinea subscription for

² NRAS 888 (Marquis of Linlithgow) bundle 2959-2968

³ NRAS 888 bundle 2959

⁴ NRAS 888 bundle 398

⁵ NRAS 888 box 137 bundle 8

“Pasquilini’s Musick” in 1740 - this may be an early version of Pasqualino de Marzis’ *Six Solos for two Violoncellos* published by Walsh before 1748⁶ or perhaps an unknown work by Nicolo Pasquali (who however did not arrive in London until c1743, according to Burney⁷). There are lots of general summarised expenses in this early account book (pocket money, money disbursed on journeys, money given to his wife or sisters) which may well include ‘hidden’ music expenditure, but the impression given by this account book is that Lord John’s interests centred on gun dogs and horses, for which six or seven payments were frequently made in a year.

John succeeded his father as second earl of Hopetoun in 1742, by which time he already had a daughter and two sons under the age of six. The system of book-keeping became progressively more systematic after this date, though references to expenditure on music may still be ‘lost’ in payments made by Lady Hope “for her own use and the childrens’”. References to sustained expenditure on music appear from around 1749, when various payments were made to teachers for Lady Betty, Earl John’s eldest daughter, when she was sent to London from 1749 - 1751 to finish her education (this is discussed fully in Chapter 4). A harpsichord was hired for her, initially for three months from 1748-9 for £1-11-6, and on 2 March 1749 £1 was paid “to a violin”.⁸ Strings were bought for the violin on 11 June, 19 July, 2 September and 22 December 1750,⁹ and John Keeble sold Lady Betty a case for the violin for 5s in 1751.¹⁰ Several payments were made throughout the London residence to the eminent harpsichord-maker Burkat Shudi, who tuned clavichords and harpsichords for the family and exchanged harpsichords and spinets on various occasions:¹¹

| | | |
|--------------|---|----|
| June 28 1751 | To moving the Harpsicoard to Mr Sudi’s & brining a nother | 2s |
| July 10 1751 | [for fetching] A Spinnet to Mr Shudi | 6d |
| July 11 1751 | A harpsicord to Mr Shudi | 1s |

The most expensive transaction with Mr Shudi was the purchase of a double manual harpsichord for Lady Betty in 1750:

⁶ Humphries and Smith: *Bibliography of John Walsh, 1721-66*

⁷ New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: *Pasquali*

⁸ NRAS 888 Box 59 Bundle 1

⁹ NRAS 888 Box 65 Bundle 2

¹⁰ NRAS 888 Bundle 585

¹¹ NRAS 888 Bundle 585

The R.th Hon.^{ble} Lady Betty Hope
 1750 To Punkat Shudi
 To a New Double Harpsicord with a harp stop 55:00:0
 To a New Mahogany Sliding Desk 1:10:0
 To a tuning Hammer & Pick pipe -- 5--
 To Raven & four Quils. 2-6
 To a Packing Case 16:0
 Paid The Chairmen for fetching . . . 2:0
 The Old Harp: to and fro - 2-57-45 6

Three discharges to John Keeble dating from Lady Betty's residence in London include music purchased, the first from 11 September 1749,¹² the second probably from April 1750,¹³ and the third dated 10 July 1751.¹⁴ The latter two are reproduced below and overleaf:

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lady Betty Hope
 Deb^t to John Keeble,
 for teaching Lady Betty Hope on the
 Harpsicord from 15th Nov: to the 23rd of April 1750; fifteen Months } £ 10-0
 Handel's Organ Concerto's & Binding -- 0-4-0
 Handel's Sixty Overture's in eight parts 2=17-0
 for binding of ditto eight Books -- 0-8-0
 for Albert's Lefons -- 0-5-0
 P. W. Werner for writing Music -- 1-2-6
 £ 36-6-6
 Rec^d: the full Contents
 & all Demands
 £ 36-6-6 p^d John Keeble

¹² NRAS 888 box 59 bundle 1
¹³ NRAS 888 box 65 bundle 2
¹⁴ NRAS 888 bundle 585

The Right Honble the Earl of Hoptoun
 Deb^t to John Keeble

For teaching the Right Honble the Lady Betty Hope
 on the Harpsichord, from the 31 Jan^y to the 8 Feb^y £ 1 0

1750th Right Lessons at _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from Feb^y 9 to the 10 - Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from Feb^y 19 to the 28 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from Feb^y 29 to March, 9 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from March, 11, to the 19 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from March 20, to the 28 _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from March 29 to April 23 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from April 24 to May 2 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from May 3, to the 11, Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from May 13, to the 21, Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from May 23 to the 31, Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from June 1 to the 10, Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from June 11 to the 19 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from June 20 to the 28 Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from June 29 to the 8 July Ditto _____ 2 = 2 = 0

from July 9 & 10, two Lessons _____ 0 = 10 = 6

for ten Collections of Tavanick Opera songs at 2 = 6 _____ 1 = 5 = 0

for Ciampi's Light Songs _____ 0 = 5 = 0

for Binding Ditto _____ 0 = 1 = 6

for Handel's Sixty Overtures for the Harpsichord _____ 1 = 10 = 0

for Binding Ditto two Vol. _____ 0 = 2 = 0

for Scarlatti's Lessons two Vol. _____ 1 = 1 = 0

for Binding Ditto two Vol. _____ 0 = 2 = 0

for a Case for a Violin _____ 0 = 5 = 0

for attending Light Concerts _____ 4 = 4 = 0

P^r Mr. Heron for attending the ^{priv}concerts as Violoncello _____ 3 = 3 = 0

1751 July 10 Rec^d the full contents & _____ £ 43 = 19 = 0

all Demands p^d John Keeble,

The "Sixty Overtures" by Handel, listed on discharges from 1750 and 1751, are very confusing. The two entries may refer to separate items, as the 1750 set (in eight books) cost £2-17 plus eight shillings binding, while the Hopes were charged £1-10 for sixty overtures in two volumes in 1751. The earlier edition may be instrumental parts (strings, oboes and horns) published by Walsh c 1749 entitled *Handle's Sixty Overtures from all his operas and Oratorios*, and the *Sixty Overtures for the Harpsicord* bought in 1751 may be a compilation of the five sets of six or 24 overtures "fitted to the harpsichord or spinnet" published by Walsh from 1726 to 1750. More music was purchased in 1758 from Robert Bremner in Edinburgh, for Lady Betty's younger sister Henrietta (1746 - 86).¹⁵

All the daughters of the second earl seem to have been interested in music and a steady stream of instruments passed through the hands of the Hope family in the 1750's, 1760's and 1770's. A spinet was hired from Robert Bremner in Edinburgh for Lady Harriet in 1759-60, at a cost of 2s 6d per week.¹⁶ A guitar was bought for Harriet in London in 1762 for £7-7¹⁷ and two spinets were purchased in 1768:¹⁸

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 24 August 1768 | |
| To Robert Bremner for a Spinet | £8 |
| 4 December 1768 | |
| To a spinnet of M Harris's make no 67 | £10-10 |
| by an old spinnet given in | <u>£2-10</u> |
| | £8-0-0 |

Lady Sophia, the youngest daughter of Earl John's first wife, married Lord Binning, heir to the Earl of Haddington, in 1779 and just before this her father made a payment of £39-17-10 to Neil Stewart, music seller in Edinburgh, for a piano, harp, violin and music for her.¹⁹

By this time Earl John had married his third wife, Lady Elizabeth Leslie, and an organ bought from a Mr Callender in August 1767 may have been a wedding present for the new Lady Hopetoun. Thomas Young, upholsterer, was commissioned to inspect and purchase the organ, and he sent a letter, reproduced below, with the measurements to the Earl, suggesting that 60 guineas should be offered for the instrument.²⁰

¹⁵ Santo Lapis Duets, Pasquali's Thoroughbass tutor and Dr Green's Harpsichord Lessons (*The Lady's Banquet*: vol. 2), recorded in NRAS 888 bundle 395.

¹⁶ NRAS 888 box 52 bundle 3

¹⁷ NRAS 888 vol. 594

¹⁸ NRAS 888 bundle 107/6

¹⁹ NRAS 888 vol. 555

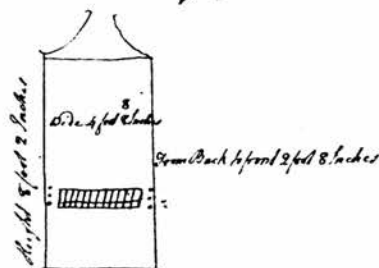
²⁰ NRAS 888 box 52 bundle 4

By Lord

Canongate 21 August 1767

Upon the Receipt of your Lordships last Letter
I immediately wrote to Mr Callender and made him
an offer of such Summes which he has accepted
of & writes him last Night that I could not finally
conclude till I knew whether it would fit the
Place it was intended for and for that purpose
I had measured the Organ & sent the Dimensions
to the Country & that it was so I had a Picture
sketch for the Organ in the other page I
have sent your Lordship the Dimensions of the Organ
that you may judge how it will fit the place allotted
for it. I should not answer the place as mine
is to be taken down when I move and is left in the
size of it will answer better your Lordship may know
I am I wish to be with you & your answer
shall determine me let me likewise know how

John Young 18-11-1767
you will be able to take the Instrument away
as Mr Callender wishes to get rid of it as soon
as possible I am with my most respectful Compliments
to Lord & Lady Hopetoun Lady Hope & Lady Ker
Your Lordships most Obedient
& most Grateful Servant
John Young



The Organ is 7 feet 4 inches high 3 feet 10 inches wide
2 feet 2 inches from Back to front

letter to the Earl of Hopetoun regarding the chamber organ

Young was paid £2-14 in January 1769 for "Packing the Organ bought from Mr Callender" and John Johnston received £6-6 for "putting up and Tuning said Organ".²¹ There is no record of where the organ was to be installed (or even whether it was intended for Hopetoun House or for one of the other Hope family residences), but from information in an inventory of 1768²² it can be established that an organ was in what is now the main library at Hopetoun House. In 1768 the library was in fact two rooms, the first of which is described in the 1768 inventory as the *north anti-chamber or Organ room* and which contained:

- a large chamber organ, mahogany case, Desk & c
- A Harpsichord with Mahogany book desk & c
- A Mahogany Bookcase for the Music Books

²¹ NRAS 888 vol. 518

²² NRAS 888 bundle 607

Figure 2.2 Payments made for tuning and repairing of keyboard instruments, by the Hope family, 1759-1774

| Payment to: | Dates | Usual Fee | Instrument |
|-------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Smith | 1759, ²⁴ 5/6/1762, ²⁵ 27/4/1765, 25/2/1766, 1766 ²⁶ | 15 s | harpsichord/ spinet |
| Johnston | 1766, ²⁷ 24/8/1768 ²⁸ | 1766: £1-10, 1768: £1-11-6 | harpsichord/ spinet/organ |
| Fife | Oct and Nov 1768 ²⁹ | 1 guinea | harpsichord |
| Lind | 9/8/1774 ³⁰ | 1 guinea | harpsicord |
| Jones | 30/8/1774 ³¹ | 2 guineas | organ |

It is difficult to calculate the expenditure on musical pursuits by the Murrays of Atholl during the first three decades of the eighteenth century since no account books survive from the time of Duke John's tenure.³² The financial circumstances of the family were extremely straitened in the early eighteenth century, mainly because of the non-payment of salaries due to the first and second marquises,³³ and the second duke had only £768 left to him on his father's death in 1724.³⁴

Expenditure on music seems to have increased when James, the 2nd Duke, married Jane Drummond of Megginch in 1749 (after the death of his first wife, Jean Lannoy). Several instruments were bought by the 2nd Duke of Atholl for his new wife: in August 1751 £8-08 was "payed for a Spinet for the Dutchess"³⁵ and a "mock organ" was bought in January 1752 (also for £8-08). Exactly what is meant by the term "mock

²⁴ NRAS 888 box 52/3

²⁵ NRAS 888 vol. 594

²⁶ all NRAS 888 vol. 523

²⁷ NRAS 888 vol. 523

²⁸ NRAS 888 vol. 518

²⁹ NRAS 888 vol. 518

³⁰ NRAS 888 vol. 555

³¹ NRAS 888 vol. 555

³² It is possible that these were deliberately destroyed to avoid incrimination, as the duke was suspected of disloyalty on several occasions, and even garrisoned in his own castle when he was too ill to travel to prison in Edinburgh in 1708.

³³ Several attempts were made to recover money owed by the government. See for example *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. 2, p. 107.

³⁴ *Chronicles* vol. 2, p. 374

³⁵ NRAS 234 (Duke of Atholl) box 51

organ” is unclear, but it could well be a regals, a popular late medieval instrument where the sound is produced by a reed rather than through pipes as in a proper organ. The name came to be indiscriminately applied to other small keyboard instruments with reed stops as well as flue pipes, perhaps to differentiate these from the larger chamber organs which were popular in the eighteenth century. One of these mis-named regals with four sets of small pipes plus the reed stop is in the Stewart Room in Blair Castle. The instrument is dated 1630 and is thought to be of English manufacture; it is probably the very instrument bought in 1752 for the 2nd Duchess, and so aptly named a “mock” organ in the accounts. Most regals had to be played on a table, and this one was no exception – the legs which are now attached to the instrument were added by the furniture-maker Webb in 1857, at a price of £60.³⁶

Keyboard instruments were also acquired for Lady Charlotte, the 2nd Duke’s daughter by his first wife:

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Novem ^r 29 1751 | Payed for a Harpsicord for Lady Charlote | £8-08-0 ³⁷ |
| April 1st 1769 | To a Small Organ | £3-13-6 |
| | (“for a Small Hand Organ for the Duchess” from R Willerton) ³⁸ | |

Three other stringed instruments now in the Stewart Room in Blair Castle are also reputed to have been Lady Charlotte’s: two English guitars, one with a mechanical picking action, and a chitarrone. The chitarrone, a type of long-necked lute, was made by one of the Tiefenbrucker family of luthiers who worked in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it can only be speculated whether such an unusual instrument was sought out and purchased by Lady Charlotte as a curiosity, or if the chitarrone had been owned by the family since the early seventeenth century.

Lady Charlotte married her cousin John, who became the 3rd Duke, in 1764. It is interesting to note that her expenditure on music increased considerably during her first few years of marriage in comparison to the musical disbursements of the Atholl household in previous years, when Charlotte presumably had little or no influence in the manner of disbursement of income. In 1755-6 she evidently took every available opportunity to attend balls, plays and concerts at London, Edinburgh and Perth,³⁹ and various payments were made in 1759 for “tuning L: Charlottes Harpsicord” and “to

³⁶ NRAS 234 bundle 54

³⁷ NRAS 234 Box 51

³⁸ NRAS 234 Bundle 698

³⁹ see accounts NRAS 234 Box 51

Mr H: Drummonds for the Organ".⁴⁰ There are several other accounts for mending and tuning instruments, including one from Kirkman:⁴¹

November the 26 1764 Received of his Grace the Duke of Atol the Sum of
one guineas being for tuning a organ & Harpsicord in full & all Demands
£1-1-0

p^r Jacob Kirkman

Significantly, none of the instruments known to have been owned by the 2nd and 3rd Duchesses features in the inventories of household furniture at Atholl House (Blair Castle) in 1756 and 1777; presumably they were in other Atholl residences, perhaps in London or Edinburgh at this time.

The surviving eighteenth-century archives for the Earls of Wemyss are extremely sparse; however, evidence of a thriving musical life can be gleaned from the exquisitely-presented ledgers of David Anderson dating from the second half of the century. These accounts all relate to Francis Charteris, who became 7th Earl on the death of his exiled elder brother in 1787; he lived on the East Lothian estates of Amisfield and Gosford, while his younger brother James had charge of the Wemyss estates after the death of the 5th Earl in 1757.

Francis Charteris commissioned a claviorgan, now "undoubtedly the biggest, best-toned and most important claviorgan still intact".⁴² The London firm of Coutts was at this time bankers to the Wemyss family, and the Coutts ledgers include payments to Snetzler of £80 for the organ, plus 6 guineas for carriage and tuning in 1751; £168 was paid to Kirkman in 1754 for the harpsichord component of the instrument by the same bankers. Given that the Wemyss family had refined musical tastes, the claviorgan, with its unusual tone colour possibilities, is probably an indication of the range of domestic music-making situations for which it was required, rather than a reflection of a curiosity-fired purchase procedure. In any case, £248 would have been a huge sum to invest in a mere curiosity.

Other payments made by the Wemyss family relating to musical instruments include:

| | | |
|--------------|--|---------|
| March 3 1757 | paid Thomas Smith for a violin case | £6 |
| May 12 1758 | paid Mr Smith for tuning Harpsichords | £2 |
| March 3 1760 | paid Jacob Kirckman musical Instrument Maker | £14-3-6 |

⁴⁰ NRAS 234 Box 51

⁴¹ NRAS 234 Bundle 49

⁴² The instrument is so-described by Peter Williams in *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology* edited by E Ripin, pp. 77-84

| | | |
|--------------|--|--------|
| 3 June 1760 | paid Mr Hamilton of Bargeny's Grieve by his Desire, being for a Guitar which he purchased for me at London | £8-8 |
| Sept 4 1761 | paid Mr Smith at Edin' for tuning spinets | £1-10 |
| Oct 2 1761 | paid Neil Stewart in Edin' for a Spinet | £9-6-2 |
| June 18 1762 | paid John Macpherson Musician for Horn Spoons | 9s |

Later Wemyss ledgers include the purchase of a fiddle and case from Joseph Martin in London in 1778 (for £13-02-6), a receipt for a cello bought in 1780 for £14-14, payment of a meagre 15s to W Rob' Rose of Edinburgh for a Sardine [Sardinian] violin, hire of a piano forte in 1791, and various purchases of violin strings.

In the aftermath of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk's discharge from the Charitable Corporation and expulsion from Parliament, there was a full investigation into his finances, and inventories and valuations were made of all his goods and land in the early 1730's. One printed catalogue of goods to be sold at the family house in Conduit Street London (no date) includes a bass violin, valued at 10s 6d,⁴³ while a small harpsichord in one of the upstairs rooms is listed in two other inventories for this house, both dated 1732.⁴⁴ A harpsichord and a spinet both feature in the 1770 inventory of Monymusk.⁴⁵

Further evidence that the Grant family sustained a lively interest in music throughout the eighteenth century can be found in the miscellaneous accounts which survive in the National Archives of Scotland. Instruments were bought for the sons of Sir Archibald's second wife (Anne Potts) in London on 29 August 1731:⁴⁶

| | |
|--------------------------------|------|
| For a flute to Billy | 3s 6 |
| For a Dantick Violin to Archie | 7s |

The word "Dantick" is blotted, but probably describes a Danzig, or German, violin. Strings were bought for this in November 1740⁴⁷ and unspecified music was purchased for Archie on several occasions.

Under the category of incidental family expenses ("to family acct which hath no particular acct") can be found various other references to the maintenance of instruments, including the purchase of strings for a spinet on 15 April 1741, and for a

⁴³ GD 345/1379

⁴⁴ GD 345/1379 and GD 345/975/24

⁴⁵ GD 345/975/55

⁴⁶ GD 345/928

⁴⁷ GD 345/928

bass⁴⁸ [probably a cello] on 11 July of that year. In 1760, Francis Peacock (author of *Fifty Scotch Airs*) supplied an un-named member of the Grant family with instructions on how to tune a violin as a psaltery and how to finger a scale on the instrument.⁴⁹

Though there are few general account books from the eighteenth century surviving among the Clerk of Penicuik muniments in the National Archives of Scotland, there is considerable evidence of expenditure on instruments and music in discharges and receipts for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. An account of general commodities bought by the father of the first baronet in 1648-50 includes many interesting instruments (the relevant entries are reproduced in figure 2.3), which may well still have been used by the family in the late seventeenth century and perhaps beyond.⁵⁰ There are no costs given for the instruments, while the other items in the accounts are all costed, but the details about the instruments and the opening rhetoric of the account book suggest both that the instruments themselves were to hand, and that everything in the book was a purchase.

⁴⁸ GD 345/598/5

⁴⁹ GD 345/1208

⁵⁰ GD 18/2482

Figure 2.3 Instruments bought by John Clerk of Penicuik, 1648-50

1 werie rare mandor [mandolin] of blak ebene [ebony] fillets. the neck and touch [fingerboard] curiouslie set with escailes off perle made be despont.

1 curious mandor wernisht [varnished] made be despont with 4 strings in A curious Blak caisse lynd with yellow serge

1 curious wernisht mandor made be despont with 4 strings markit A

1 curious mador wernisht made be despont with 5 strings markit M

1 rare excellent treble wioll [viol] wernisht with a Blak ebene wioll stick made be despont

1 old treble wioll

1 werie excellent large wioll de gambo made be despont with A curious arche [bow] the head thairoff mounted wt yourie [yew?]

1 lesser curious litle wiol de gambo made be despont with a face on the head off it with A curious arche

1 werie rare ebene posh [kit, pocket fiddle] made be despont with a lyon on its head A cedar table the neck curiouslie wroght with perle en escailles

1 curious maroquin etuis to put it in

1 grasse grem flourd weluit [velvet] sack curiouslie mounted to hold the etuis

1 curious large recorder or flute mounted at both ends with yourie

1 curious lesser recorder or flute off Anet plumb tree

2 curious long wirginia wood Arches mounted with yourie wt a larme of yuorie in the head for wiol de gambos

3 wirginia wood Arches or wioll sticks for A treble wioll

2 ebene sticks for poshes

The first baronet of Penicuik spent a considerable sum on musical pursuits in Paris in 1676⁵¹, including a massive £32 on music books:

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Bag pype & 6 lils | £1-16-00 |
| 2 quair of musick paper | £2-00-00 |
| musick book | 8s |
| musick book as pr compt | £32-00-00 |
| trumpett 10 lib coner | £12-00-00 |
| 1 packett violll strings | £4-10-00 |

Clerk's "Memor" mentions "2 violll de gambo for base yt be lairge yt be f[low?]kd in ye back after ye mod of a violin made by Mr Addis, 3 trible viols and strings, 4 airs in 4&5 pairts".⁵² It is not certain from the memoire if the viols were purchases or not, but another account from a merchant in London advises the first baronet that "I spoke Mr Urahart [Urquhart?] anent on of those 2 viollls you see of his where will not sell ym under £3 stl [sterling] ye pr [pair] . . ."⁵³ Keyboard instruments were also in use in the household of the first baronet, and one Alexander Adam was paid £3-10 for "stringing ye virginells" in February 1686.⁵⁴

An account of items purchased by the (future) second baronet when he was in London in August and September 1710 includes six sonatas by Corelli for 9s, a 'phylosophical flute' for 8s and a 'block trumpet' for 1s 6d.⁵⁵ Clerk had purchased a clavichord in Conigsberg in 1704 for 48 Polish guilders, and paid £38-8 Scots via William Mercer for this in February 1706.⁵⁶ When he was in London as a Commisioner for the Treaty of Union in 1706, Clerk clearly missed his instrument, for he paid 11s for some music, and 3s "for a lone of a spinit".⁵⁷ Clerk must have spent some of 1708 in London too, for two of the items on a bill dated 1709⁵⁸ are for harpsichord hire in 1708 (four months) and 1709 (five months). This bill, from a London merchant named Alexander Livingston, includes 4s for "Bassaneys Consortes, 3 Munthly masks, the opr of Pyrhos & [Demetrius], the opra of Clotilda, the overture & tuns in thomely" [Bononcini's *Thomyris*?] and demonstrates that Clerk had engaged the merchant to supply him with music from London. Livingston states, "I have acording to y[ou]r order when y[o]u was at London that when it came to twenty or thirty shill I should draw upon you for it", and proceeds to offer Clerk a "very fin cantata compos'd by

⁵¹ GD 18/2567

⁵² GD 18/2567

⁵³ GD 18/5176/6

⁵⁴ GD 18/2186

⁵⁵ GD 18/2173/1. The Corelli sonatas may have been part of his op 5 violin sonatas, which were included in a list of music probably in Clerk's ownership – see ch. 5, pp.167-171 for details.

⁵⁶ GD 18/2173/1

⁵⁷ GD 18/2211

⁵⁸ GD 18/2182

Sign. Pepusch just now com out", and to discuss a chamber organ which Livingston thought Clerk might wish to purchase.

The second baronet was evidently still interested in buying new instruments in 1731, as this letter from his son James in Edinburgh shows:

I have seen two or three spinets since I came to Town, but can find no second hand ones that are with much: there are one or two (reckon'd tolerable good) belonging to Mr Fenlon If you will go to the price of a new one . . . ⁵⁹

In this letter James also informs his father that his harpsichord should be ready for collection from a Mr Mabin later that week; obviously some repair had been undertaken. The Sederunt Books of the Edinburgh Musical Society detail many payments to a Mr Maban from 1728 onwards for tuning harpsichords, usually at the rate of £5 per annum; both Sir John Clerk and his son would have been acquainted with the man through the Music Society.

James went abroad later in 1731 (and seems to have stayed away for the following twenty years, much to his father's dismay⁶⁰) and included substantial expenditure on musical activities in a list of outgoings during his stay in Rome:

"for musick I have laid out 34lbs, Musick 25lb, Musicians 45lb, this last article I own is a most extravagant one. . . "⁶¹

The 2nd Baronet's spending late in his life was modest in comparison to his son's; the only musical item in the discharges for 1716-48 was a fiddle string bought in April 1747 for 6s.⁶²

Though the Maules of Panmure established a music library which is arguably the most comprehensive and the most significant of those under investigation in the present study (see Chapter 5), the archival material relating to the family is singularly disappointing in its lack of evidence of musical activities. There are sets of household accounts for Panmure from 1667-83, and for Harie Maule's house at Kelly from 1704-12, along with personal accounts for the 4th Earl from 1699-1715, and various sets of

⁵⁹ GD 18/5340/3. This is dated April 21, Edinburgh, and is in the same ink and on the same paper as other letters in the bundle which bear dates of 1731

⁶⁰ GD 18/5340/25, 26, 28

⁶¹ GD 18/5340/12

⁶² GD 18/2173/2

discharges and incidental expenses. Most of the household accounts detail expenditure on food and furniture, and appear to be fairly comprehensive. There are no references to purchase or maintenance of instruments, nor are there records of payments to musicians, or of purchase of concert tickets. As in other sets of family accounts, it is probable that some small items of musical expenditure have been included in sums of “pocket money” disbursed by the 4th Earl. As a young man, James, 4th Earl, was a keen musician, and his achievements as a violist, probably as a pupil of Sainte-Colombe, are discussed in Chapter 4 of this work. James and his brother Harie brought a collection of important manuscripts of viol music back from their Grand Tour in 1680, along with of a case of viols and a speaking trumpet (a hearing aid).⁶³

Surprisingly, instruments do not feature in the 1686 inventory of furniture at Panmure, nor in the inventories for Panmure of 1703-19.⁶⁴ “Ane Bass viol w^t a case” was to be found in the “big closet in the lodging at Edin^r” in April 1714:⁶⁵ this could refer to a house occupied either by Harie Maule or by James, 4th Earl. An earlier inventory of 1695 lists a “fine inlaid guitar” belonging to Lady Panmure.⁶⁶

2.1.1 Patterns in expenditure on instruments

Many instruments were purchased by the families under survey from the late seventeenth to the mid eighteenth centuries. The most expensive purchases were keyboard instruments from London, for example the Wemyss claviorgan bought in 1751 for £248 and the Shudi harpsichord bought by the Hopes in 1750 for £57-15-6. Instruments of good quality seem to have been normally acquired outwith Scotland (for example the spinet imported from France by the Baillies and the organ bought from Amsterdam by the Hopes), while the keyboard instruments available locally were generally valued at less than £10 (for example the spinets bought by the Hope family in 1768 from Robert Bremner, or the spinet bought by the Earl of Wemyss from Neil Stewart for £9-06-2). The Wemyss, Hope and Atholl families used their periods of residence in Edinburgh or London to select and purchase instruments.

Stringed instruments were also common among the families under survey, and seem ridiculously cheap in comparison to keyboard instruments. Again the Earl of Wemyss invested most, paying 14 guineas for a cello in 1780, while the most that was paid for a

⁶³ GD 45/18/1316

⁶⁴ GD 45/18/1224

⁶⁵ GD 45/18/909

⁶⁶ GD 45/18/864

violin was £1 for an instrument bought by Lady Betty Hope in London in 1749. The Earl of Wemyss acquired a Sardinian violin in 1791 for 15s, but the Grants paid less than half this sum for a German violin in 1740. Guitars were more expensive, being the height of fashion in London, and the instruments bought in London for Lady Harriet Hope, in 1762, and for Francis Charteris in 1760 cost 7 or 8 guineas.

The other regular item of expenditure was the tuning of keyboard instruments, but the payments recorded are not sufficiently comprehensive to facilitate comparison of costs. Payments to tuners vary widely, from the 2s 6d the Baillies paid in London every 3-6 months in 1716, to the £2 paid by Francis Charteris to Smith in 1758. The most comprehensive records of tuning are found in the Hope archives, but even these do not specify how many times instruments were tuned, or how many instruments were tuned on each occasion. The Hope and Wemyss accounts are especially useful in providing information on instrument makers and repairers about whom little has previously been known: both families used John Smith over a period of eight years (1758-66), and the only information on him known to Boalch⁶⁷ was the fact he worked in College Wynd c. 1760. The biography of harpsichord-maker John Johnston can also be considerably expanded by the details in the Hopetoun ledgers (previous knowledge was restricted to only one surviving spinet, now in the Rhode Island School of Design, USA, date ascribed 1800).

⁶⁷ D Boalch: *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*.

2.2 Patterns in Domestic Music-Making

The considerable sums of money disbursed by the families under survey on musical instruments and on sheet music is indicative of a thriving domestic music tradition. By its very nature, music-making at home is rarely recorded, and it is difficult to find documentary evidence of the sorts of music-making regularly enjoyed by the Scottish upper classes. Obviously solitary practice of the instruments discussed in the sections above would constitute some of the musical activity on country estates, and playing to other people was also common, as the youngest daughter of the 17th laird of Kilravock describes:⁶⁸

my delight was to stand behind his [the 17th baron] chair, and turn the leaves of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, or the *Passione* of Jomelli, while he played the symphonies and the prettiest passages in the songs to me, showed me the various cliffs, the niceties in time, the difference of keys

Cosmo Innes also acknowledges the hereditary taste for music among the Rose family, and recounts the musical entertainment afforded to Bonnie Prince Charlie when he lodged at Kilravock two days before the battle of Culloden.⁶⁹ These musical activities were obviously an attraction to visitors to Kilravock, as the quote from a letter from Lord Kames illustrates:

Three things considerable determine me to dine at Kilravock on Thursday next: first . . . second . . . and third and principal is, to be enchanted with good music upon the guitar.⁷⁰

This informal music-making was evidently not confined to one gender: Elizabeth Rose played spinet and guitar, and had learnt the violin to take part in chamber music with her father and brother, along with singing glees and catches in their company.⁷¹ The probable form of these domestic concerts can be gauged from a letter Lady Elizabeth wrote to her friend Euphemia Russell in September 1777,⁷² in which she speaks of both men and women singing solo songs followed by performance of glees and catches. Mention is also made of a man playing on the bass fiddle, which was probably one of the instruments used to accompany the solo vocal music.

As the preceding pages have demonstrated, keyboard instruments would appear to have been especially popular in Scotland (as might be expected in an era when a continuo

⁶⁸ *Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*, ed. Cosmo Innes, p. 471

⁶⁹ C Innes: *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 462-5

⁷⁰ Letter from Henry Home, Lord Kames, to Kilravock, 11 May 1763, quoted in the *Genealogical Deduction* p. 438

⁷¹ C Innes: *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 483

⁷² *Genealogical Deduction* p. 496

group underpinned most performances). All of the families under survey owned more than one keyboard instrument, ranging from spinets and virginals in the early years of the century, to harpsichords, chamber organs, clavichords, and even a claviorgan. It might be conjectured that unaccompanied keyboard music, and music for voice and keyboard was the mainstay of domestic music-making in eighteenth-century Scotland; however, the survey of music collections in Chapter 5 of this work would seem to contradict this. These music collections indicate that larger-scale music-making was more common. A high percentage of the music acquired by upper class families needed two or more performers – there are numerous examples of cantatas, duets for two flutes or violins or violin/flute and bass, sonatas for one or two instruments plus basso continuo and Concerti Grossi, etc. In addition, some of the instruments purchased by the families are almost inherently ensemble instruments – most practitioners of the violin or flute in the eighteenth century would wish to play sonatas with at least a keyboard player, and very probably would have teamed up with a second violin or flute, a harpsichordist and a cellist or gamba player to explore the trio sonata repertoire.

The existence of an apparently intact huge library of (mainly printed) orchestral music collected by the Rose family of Kilravock⁷³ is one of the most intriguing revelations in the present research. Tradition has it⁷⁴ that large groups of people met in the “music room” in Kilravock, to play symphonies and overtures by Abel, JC Bach, Dittersdorf, the Earl of Kelly and Pugnani, on a frequent if not regular basis. There is no direct evidence of this in the *Genealogical Deduction*, nor has a description of such an event been found in the extant correspondence, but it is likely that these things were not documented. There were certainly two violinists among the Rose family in the later eighteenth century: Elizabeth, who became 19th baroness, and her brother Hugh, the 18th laird; Elizabeth could double as a keyboard player. Nearby Culloden House had a musical laird, Duncan Forbes, who may have joined the family; perhaps the local schoolmaster, or members of the Cawdor and Clephane families joined with the Roses to take the bass and wind parts in large scale orchestral concerts in rural Inverness-shire . . .

⁷³ This has been purchased by the National Library of Scotland, and its contents are listed and discussed in chapter 5, pp. 159, 182–4

⁷⁴ This is reported by the guides at Kilravock on the evidence of a large music gallery in the drawing room, and instruments which survive at the Castle and date from the eighteenth century.

From remarks in the *Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*, it is obvious that musical activities played an important part in this family's life, and it is frustrating to find no evidence of this in the surviving archives – probably due largely to the unavailability of systematic household accounts, which have been a major source of information for other families investigated in the course of this thesis. The Kilravock accounts referred to in the *Genealogical Deduction* apparently show large outlays for masters of dancing and music for the daughters of the sixteenth laird in 1734-5 (which was spent in Edinburgh), and music is described as the main pursuit of the 16th laird when he was at Kilravock for the summer months.⁷⁵

Many of the collections of music developed by the families under survey contain volumes of glees and catches, and it seems likely that this was a favourite diversion of, particularly, the Atholl and Rose families in the later eighteenth century. Smaller-scale vocal music, especially Scots songs, seems also to have been staple fare in domestic music-making. One of the earliest, and arguably the most popular, of the publications of Scots songs was Allan Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*, printed in Edinburgh in 1723, and running to fourteen editions within a few years. As the title suggests, the songs were intended for upper-class women as an afternoon diversion, accompanied by the newly-popular drink of tea. Ramsay dedicated the volumes to the "lasses" in an introductory poem, the final stanza of which runs:

E'en while the tea's fill'd reeking round
Rather than plot a tender tongue
Treat a' the circling lugs wi'sound
Syne safely sip when ye have sung

Tunes are indicated for some of the songs, but the four volumes are primarily word books, supplying new verses to old songs, and traditional words "cleared from the dross of blundering transcribers and printers" as the preface says – meaning that words deemed unsuitable for the upper class were cleaned up. A further set of books by Alexander Stuart entitled *Music for Allan Ramsay's Scots Songs* appeared in 1725, supplying the tunes for the songs in the *Tea Table Miscellany*. Many are given with a texted treble clef line and an unfigured bass line, and the performer would have improvised a right hand accompaniment on the keyboard – in his *Harpsichord Miscellany* (discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 129-30), Robert Bremner gives an example of the sort of accompaniment which was expected.

⁷⁵ These comments are made in the *Genealogical Deduction* pp. 411-4. The author evidently had had sight of accounts for 1734-5.

2.2.1 Music in portraits

A major source of information on traditions of domestic music-making is to be found in portraits commissioned during the eighteenth century. The fact that many families commissioned portraits which included musical instruments would suggest not only that domestic music-making was a regular occurrence, but also that musical prowess was highly regarded and an accomplishment which the families wanted to depict to others. Portraits also confirm the popularity of keyboard instruments and of instrumental chamber music.

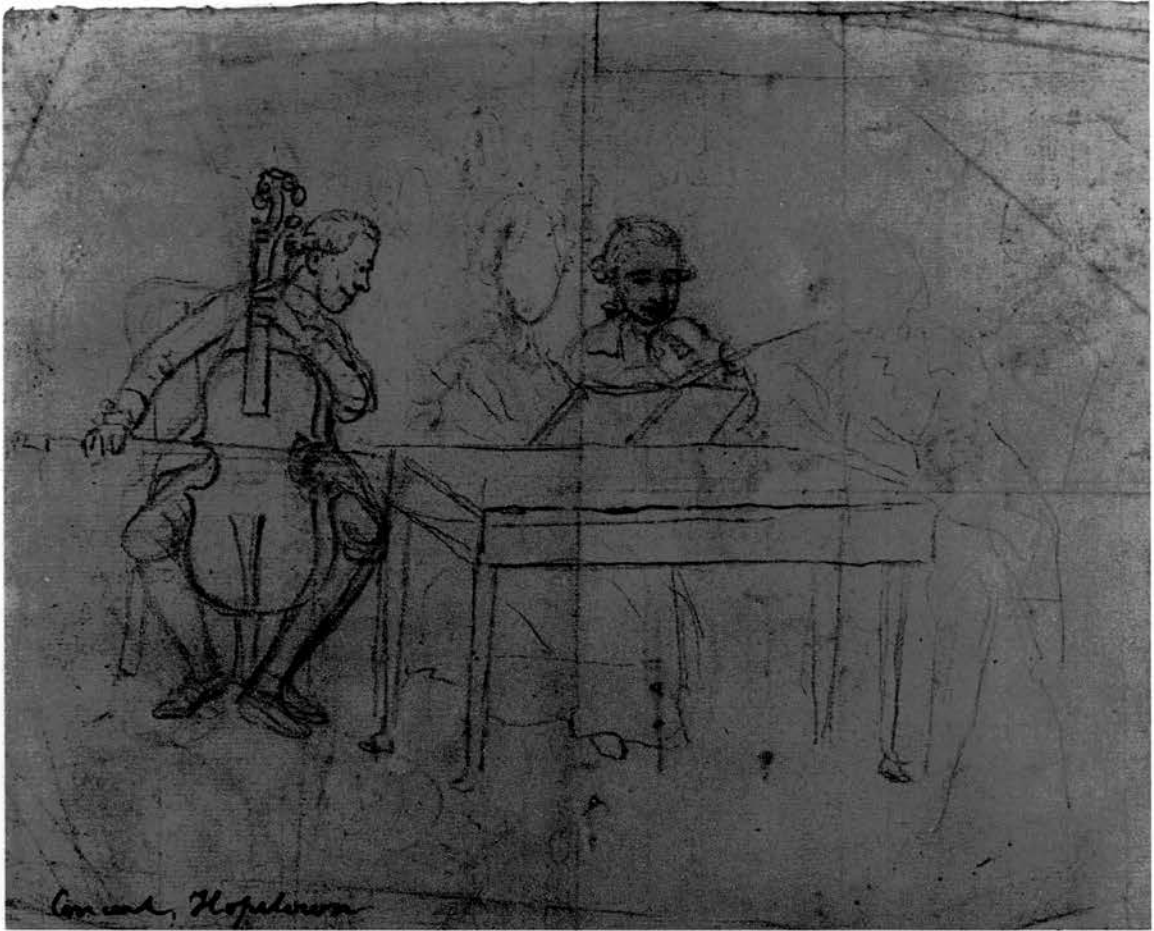
Some portraits depict family music-making in progress, such as David Allan's 1790⁷⁶ sketch "Concert, Hopetoun", reproduced on p. 62. The heavily drawn figure playing cello bears a strong resemblance to James, 3rd Earl of Hopetoun. The violinist is also heavily-drawn, and perhaps is another member of the Hope family, most probably James' brother, John of Rankeillour. The keyboard instrument, played by a lightly-sketched female, is an English or Scottish spinet of c 1750,⁷⁷ which would have been old-fashioned by the time this portrait was painted. The repertoire is probably one of the many keyboard sonatas with accompaniment for violin and cello from the later eighteenth century, several volumes of which were found at Hopetoun House (see Chapter 5).

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery (hereafter SNPG) has recently purchased another Allan musical *conversazione* of 1780, showing the Erskine of Alva family. Two daughters and a son (voice, harpsichord and cello respectively) are performing the song "Where Helen Lies" while their parents look on.

⁷⁶ This will have been sketched roughly as the performance was in progress – Allan spent the winters of 1779 and 1780 at Hopetoun House, as the guest of the 3rd Earl, with whom he had a warm friendship. Many portraits painted for the Hope family during these two winters are cited by T Crouther Gordon in his biography of the painter: *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*.

⁷⁷ I am indebted to Dr Grant O'Brien, Curator of the Russell Collection, University of Edinburgh, for discussing these portraits with me and supplying information on the keyboard instruments.

Figure 2.4 **Concert, Hopetoun, by David Allan, 1790**



Thanks to City of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections for permission to reproduce this work.

One of the portraits of the family of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk⁷⁸ shows his two sons, Archibald and William, occupying themselves with fortifications in the foreground. Anne Potts, second wife of Sir Archibald, is seated to the right with one of her daughters (probably Mary). The two older girls entertaining the company are Catherine and Jean, the daughters of Sir Archibald's first wife, Anne Hamilton. The keyboard instrument is unclear, but from the shape of the keyboard case and legs it is probably an Italian harpsichord, the body of which is hidden from view by the table and chairs.⁷⁹

A number of eighteenth-century portraits of upper class Scottish women include references to music, demonstrating that this was one of their main interests and accomplishments (in the same way as men often wore legal robes and military uniform, or carried game or guns to indicate their status or prowess in gentlemanly activities). The most common instruments to be seen in these portraits of individual women are guitars/mandolins and keyboard instruments. The 1750 portrait (see over, p. 65) of Lady Betty Rose of Kilravock shows that the mandolin was one of her attainments. And in Trevisani's portrait of Frances Pierrepont, the 2nd wife of the 6th Earl of Mar (see over, p. 67), the subject is seated at a harpsichord, on which is placed a copy of an aria, *Nome del Mio Pastor*, from G B Bononcini's opera *Erminia*. The child seated on her knee is Lady Frances' daughter, Lady Frances Erskine. The precise dating of the painting is interesting: on stylistic grounds it is assumed by the SNPG to date from c 1720, but the music is clearly dated 1719, which is the date of the first Rome performance of *Erminia* (a revised London version was first staged in 1723).

There are several other "musical" portraits of Scottish women in the catalogue maintained by the SNPG, of which one of the best is David Martin's portrait⁸⁰ of Lady Anne Charteris, daughter of Francis, 7th Earl of Wemyss, with a mandolin, dated 1782.

Music was evidently not exclusively a female pastime; men too are portrayed with musical instruments, such as in Hogarth's portrait⁸¹ of Lord Anne Hamilton fingering a flute in his garden at Kensington (1733), Battoni's portrait⁸² of Archibald 9th Duke

⁷⁸ By William Robertson, c 1740. Collection of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk. Reproduction included in James Holloway's book to accompany the *Patrons and Painters* exhibition at the SNPG, 1989 (p. 79)

⁷⁹ The harpsichord was identified as an Italian instrument by Dr Grant O'Brien.

⁸⁰ Collection of Lord and Lady Wemyss, at Gosford House.

⁸¹ Unknown private collection, sold at Sotheby's, July 1991.

⁸² Private collection.

of Hamilton with a scroll of a cello just visible (c 1760), and the young Simon Fraser of Lovat clutching a flute in a 1736 portrait⁸³ by J F Nollekens.

As well as portraits of individuals and musical *conversazione* pieces, there are a few examples of more formal music-making, where professional musicians are engaged in performance for a family. Perhaps the most famous of these is David Allan's "Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl" of 1780,⁸⁴ with the music performed by Neil and Donald Gow (violin and cello) and a piper drinking in the background. There is also a portrait⁸⁵ of piper William Cumming, in full Highland dress, by Richard Waitt. Pietro Fabris' 1771 portrait⁸⁶ of Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Seaforth at home in Naples, shows Lord Seaforth in the foreground while the diplomat Sir William Hamilton and Gaetano Pugnani play violins, accompanied by Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart.

The information on expenditure on instruments and on traditions of domestic music-making would suggest that the landed classes were pro-active rather than passive in their musical activities. As the many "musical" portraits show, their interests were in performing music themselves. They appear to have regularly indulged in chamber music, both vocal and instrumental, involving three or more people, and though keyboard instruments were purchased more frequently than other instruments, most families surveyed also owned "ensemble" instruments such as violins, flutes and cellos. The upper class enjoyment of domestic chamber music supported sections of the music industry in eighteenth-century Scotland, in particular sustaining the developing music publishing industry with their demand for printed chamber and vocal music. Instruments too, though often purchased abroad or in London, were maintained and tuned in Scotland, providing employment for makers and repairers north of the border.

⁸³ In a private collection

⁸⁴ On loan to the National Galleries of Scotland (displayed at Duff House) and reproduced with permission on p. 91

⁸⁵ Owned by the National Galleries of Scotland. The portrait is dated 1714. William Cumming was one of the hereditary pipers to the Laird of Grant.

⁸⁶ In the Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Figure 2.5 Lady Betty Rose, by F Lindo, 1750

In a private Scottish Collection



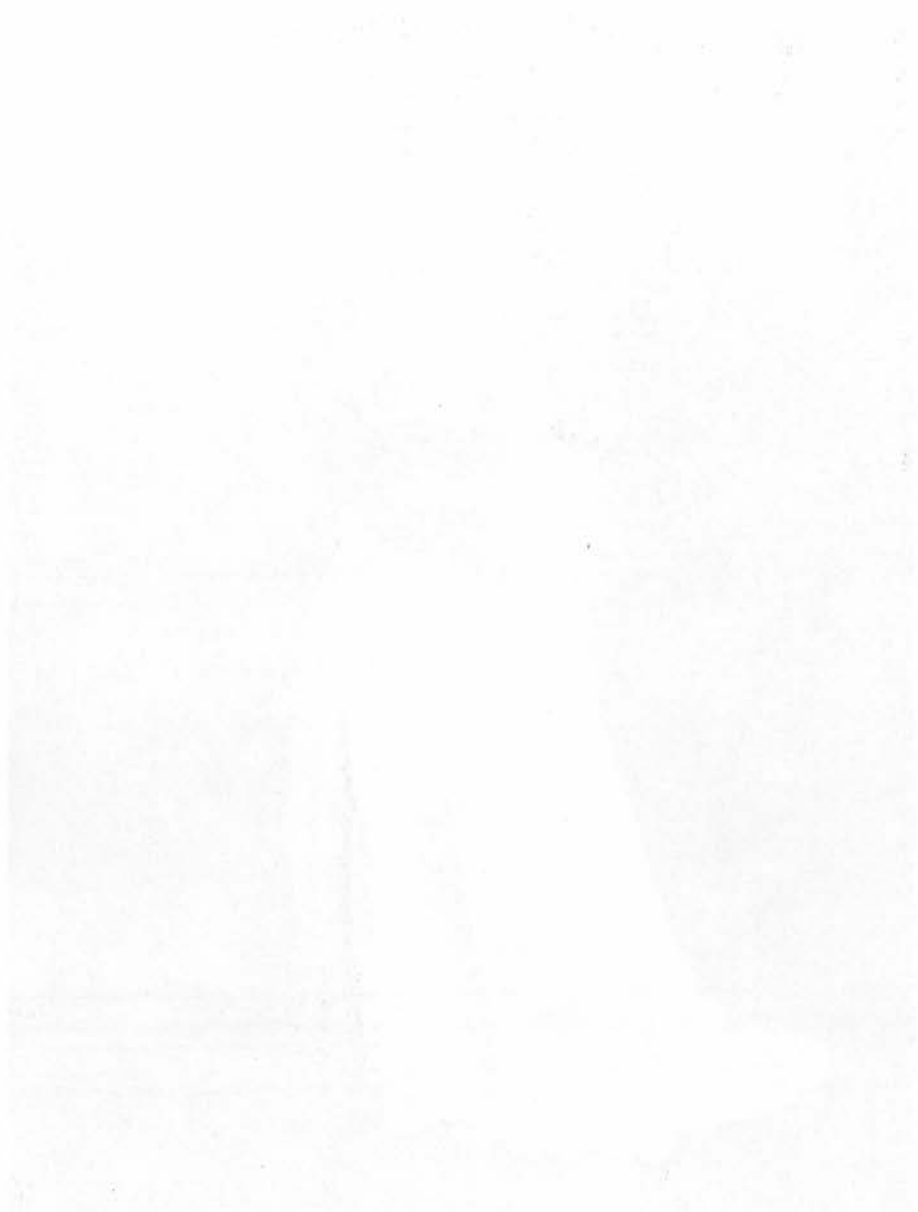


Figure 2.6 Frances Pierrepont, 6th Countess of Mar, by Trevisani, c 1720
In the collection of the Earl of Mar and Kellie





2.3 Consumption of Musical Products by Landowners

Not all musical activity by the landed classes was of their own making: the account books of the families under survey provide substantial proof that landowners were consumers of professional musical products, attending concerts, pleasure gardens, operas and music society meetings. Then, as now, there were more opportunities to procure tuition, purchase instruments and attend concerts in the urban centres, and the families availed themselves of these opportunities whenever possible.

Concerts were held in Edinburgh from the last decade of the seventeenth century, and the Baillie family from Mellerstain purchased tickets for some of these early concerts. References in the Mellerstain account books to concerts in Edinburgh in 1702-10 provide tangible evidence for the developing concert life of the capital; none of the concerts referred to in the account books is advertised in a newspaper, or known about from other sources. The tickets for these are expensive, even assuming that at least one person accompanied young Grisell on each occasion:

| | | |
|---------------|---|-----------------------|
| June 9 1702 | To Grisie to goe to a consert | £0 14 6 |
| August 6 1702 | To a consurt fro [sic] Grisie | £1 9 0 |
| May 1707 | For tickets to Steals consurt | £7 2 0 |
| January 1710 | For tickets to consorts 7s raffles £1 10s | £1 17 0 ⁸⁷ |

Though opportunity for artistic involvement was not lacking for the Atholl family in the early years of the eighteenth century,⁸⁸ there are only two references to attendance at concerts and other musical entertainments in the Atholl archives. In 1698 Lady Katherine Hamilton was entreated by her brother to “please accompany Mrs Gerard to a concert with a famous musician that’s to sing ther this neight”.⁸⁹ Two of Lady Katherine’s sons, William and James, attended a concert while they were students at St Andrews University in January 1706, and the princely sum of £1-09-00 (Scots) was paid “for the Lds to hear Mr Abel sing.”⁹⁰ That there are no other records of members of the Atholl family attending concerts in the early years of the eighteenth

⁸⁷ *Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, 1692-1718, photocopy consulted in National Museum of Scotland

⁸⁸ Duke John and his family lived in London from 1684 to 1703 (before he became duke), and Edinburgh from February 1712, when the duke was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland.

⁸⁹ NRAS 234 Box 44 VI. 265. Again, no documentation in newspapers or other sources has been found.

⁹⁰ NRAS 234 Box 42 III (1) 4 - John Mitchell’s account for expenses at St Andrews, Nov 1705 - May 1706. This was undoubtedly the Scottish male soprano John Abell who was well-known across Europe.

century, would suggest that such diversions were a luxury rather than a regular occurrence in the first decades of the century.

However, by the 1750's concerts had become a regular feature of Edinburgh life, with two or three advertisements for musical entertainments appearing in the newspapers every week throughout the winter months. Many of these were chamber music concerts, for the benefit of the main performer, such as this one advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 23 January 1751:

Benefit concert for Signor Pescatore at Mary's Chapel on 27th inst. Vocal and instrumental music newly composed by Pescatore, including a harpsichord concerto. Tickets 2s 6d.

Such advertisements usually state that the programme will consist of vocal and instrumental music, sometimes including Scots songs, and ticket prices vary from 2s to 4s. Some enterprising artists, for example Signor Passerini, organised subscription series, for which the fee was 2 guineas for 2 tickets to each of eight concerts in 1751. Music society concerts were also advertised from time to time, especially "ladies concerts" to which women were welcomed, and St Cecilia's Day concerts.⁹¹

The account books for the families under survey in the present work testify that the landowners continued to support concerts and music society meetings in the mid-eighteenth century. Tickets were bought, for example, by the Hope family for Bremner's concerts in Edinburgh in 1758,⁹² and Lady Eliza, the 3rd Countess, had a ticket for a concert to be given by Tenducci in 1766; unfortunately sore eyes prevented her from attending.⁹³ The daughters of the 2nd Baronet of Penicuik were also frequent attenders at concerts in Edinburgh in 1733-4, with the total bill for tickets amounting to £3-2-6. Tickets for "Miss Anne and Miss Bettie" were paid for by Hugh Clerk and included three or four tickets to each of eight ladies' concerts and two tickets for "Benedittos Consort".⁹⁴

Though most of the musical events available to audiences in Scotland were concerts, there is also some evidence of other musical diversions, particularly in Edinburgh. An advertisement for the opening of the Comely Pleasure Gardens appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 27 May 1755. The price was a guinea for ladies and one and a half guineas for men for forty nights' entertainment, or 2s for a single ticket,

⁹¹ See for example the Ladies' concerts advertised on 24 February 1751 and 5 August 1755 in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*

⁹² NRAS 888 Bundle 395

⁹³ NRAS 888 bundle 668

⁹⁴ GD 18/2173/2

and the gardens were behind Holyrood House, with “gates on Abbey Hill and St Ann’s Yards”. A whole season of Italian opera was put on at the Canongate Theatre in Edinburgh in 1763 and English operas were staged from time to time.⁹⁵ The theatre had limited popularity in Scotland well into the eighteenth century, and plays were often disguised as concerts: *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much Ado About Nothing* were two of the Shakespeare plays which were performed as attachments to concerts in January 1755.⁹⁶

Operas and pleasure gardens were more readily available outwith Scotland, and landowners frequently commented on the entertainments which they indulged in when they visited London or continental Europe. In a letter to his mother of February 1704, Lord John Murray (the eldest son of the 1st Duke of Atholl) who was in London with his father, remarked on “a play, w^l musick & dancing, on y^e stage in the ball chamber” in celebration of Queen Anne’s birthday.⁹⁷ Attendance at such an event was evidently unusual for the youth. As Lady Murray makes clear in her *Memoirs of her parents*, the Baillie family participated in many sorts of entertainments when they moved to London in 1714:

When we first came to London, and were of an age to relish diversions, such as balls, masquerades, parties by water, music, and such like, my mother and he [Lord George Baillie] were always in our parties; neither choosing to deprive us of them, nor let us go alone . . .⁹⁸

The family were quick to avail themselves of the increased opportunities to attend musical performances in London, as can be seen from the money spent on tickets in the first years in the city:⁹⁹

| | |
|---------|--|
| 1716 | |
| Febr 10 | To the Opera for Rachy [Rachel] 0 10 9 |
| Ap: | To Rachy for a Play and ane opera 0 15 0 |
| June | For two gallary tickets to ane opera 0 3 0 |
| June | To Barnackie’s benefite 2 tickets to the opera 2 3 0 |
| Aug 8 | For expence of Publick divertions at Bath 8 10 0 |

⁹⁵ Johnson gives some details of the operas produced in Edinburgh in *Music and Society*, pp. 47–48

⁹⁶ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 6 and 8 January 1755. There are 2 or 3 advertisements each week for plays, usually by Shakespeare, attached to concerts at this time.

⁹⁷ *Chronicles* vol. 2 p. 22

⁹⁸ *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Lady Grisell Baillie, by their Daughter, Lady Murray of Stanhope*, p. 8

⁹⁹ *Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1718*

| | | |
|---------|--|--------|
| 1717 | | |
| Febr | For an opera ticket to Rachy | 0 10 0 |
| March | For opera tickets from Mrs Robison | 2 3 0 |
| Mar | For tickets to Castruches Musick meeting | 1 1 6 |
| May 1st | For 4 Tickets to Mr Barnackes opera | 4 6 0 |
| ditto | For 2 tickets to Berenstats opera | 2 3 0 |
| June | To the bairens for operas | 16s |

Obviously the musical interests of the Baillie family lay mainly in the direction of opera, as a study of surviving music from the Mellerstain library shows (see Chapter 5). From catalogues of the Italian operas performed in London,¹⁰⁰ it can be conjectured that the performances attended by the family in 1716 may have included *Clearte*, *Lucio Vero imperatore di Roma* (for which no composers are stated) and Alessandro Scarlatti's *Pirro e Demetrio*. This last opera continued to run in 1717, with Bernacchi as Demetrio and Mrs Robinson as Climone, and it is conceivably this opera for which opera tickets were bought from "Mrs Robison" in March 1717. The music meeting which the Baillies attended in March 1717 might have been a benefit concert; in any case it is interesting to note that the Baillie family evidently also had some interest in instrumental music, as Castrucci was a violinist who had recently arrived in London to lead Handel's opera orchestra.

Antonio Bernacchi was an Italian castrato for whom the Baillie family seem to have had a special affinity. It is difficult to establish the opera for which four tickets were bought in May 1717 as there are no listings of singers or dates of performances in the libretti of the four operas which occurred in London in this year.¹⁰¹ The payment concerning Bernacchi in June 1716 is puzzling: the benefit concert and the opera may be two separate events, yet the cost of the two tickets (£2-03) is the usual price for tickets to an opera.

Lady Betty Hope went to the pleasure gardens at Ranelagh and Vauxhall while she was in London in 1749,¹⁰² and £4.4 was also paid to her teacher John Keeble in 1751 "for

¹⁰⁰ C Sartori: *Il libretti Italiani a stampa dalle originie al 1800*, ed Bertola and Locatelli, 1990 onwards, gives a listing of all known librettos of Italian operas, cataloguing these by place and year of performance, as well as by author, librettist, etc. While it has thus been possible to establish the Italian operas performed in London in each of these years, the librettos do not give dates of performances, so the operas attended by the Baillie family on each occasion cannot be stated with certainty. There is also the possibility that some of the performances attended by the family in these years were of operas in English, which would not be included by Sartori.

¹⁰¹ The operas performed were Handel's *Rinaldo*, *Tito Manlio* (author not known), G Bononcini's *Camilla* and *Vincislao re di Polonia* (author not known); *Rinaldo* is perhaps the most likely, as a word book is among the bound librettos surviving at Mellerstain.

¹⁰² NRAS 888 Box 59 Bundle 1

attending Eight Concerts”.¹⁰³ Her father, Lord John Hope, had attended a performance of an opera in London on his return from his Grand Tour of Europe in 1727, but his report of the event in a letter to Lord Annandale¹⁰⁴ shows scant regard for the singers, and much more interest in another member of the audience: “the most divine Angel ever was seen, sure she was form’d of the best Receipt Jove has . . . Faustina, Cuzzoni, Senesino, and all that despicable race of Mortals were little minded, the charming inconnue employ’d all our senses”!

One of the most intriguing documents in the Hopetoun papers is a libretto marked Schonbrunn, 1763.¹⁰⁵ This turns out to be the libretto of Tommaso Traetta’s opera *Ifigenia in Tauride*, which was performed at the imperial palace in Vienna for the Emperor of Austria on 4 October 1763 (libretto by Coltellini). Charles, the eldest son of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun was at this time on his Grand Tour, and must have attended the performance; the libretto was probably recovered by his brother James, as Charles died before he returned home.

Lady Charlotte Murray, who married her cousin John, the 3rd Duke of Atholl, evidently had a keen interest in music. Between January and April 1755, Lord John and Lady Charlotte resided in London, Edinburgh and Perth,¹⁰⁶ where they attended three plays, two concerts, and several balls; Lady Charlotte also received a considerable sum of money for unspecified expenses which may have included further musical pursuits. It is remarkable how the female characters influenced the Atholl family’s musical life – even the old second Duke was persuaded by his second wife to spend 6 guineas on musical entertainments at Ranelagh in London in 1749.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ NRAS 888 Bundle 585

¹⁰⁴ NRAS 888 bundle 612

¹⁰⁵ NRAS 888 bundle 589

¹⁰⁶ see accounts NRAS 234 Box 51

¹⁰⁷ NRAS 234 box 51

2.4 Music Society Membership

The landowning classes were prominent members of the music societies which were established in towns throughout Lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁸ The societies were constituted of amateur musicians supplemented by professional performers, and met weekly to play orchestral and chamber music together, along the lines of societies established in English provincial towns.¹⁰⁹ The Edinburgh Musical Society was the most illustrious of the Scottish institutions,¹¹⁰ and latterly it attracted many renowned continental musicians. Comprehensive minutes and membership lists survive for most of the life of the Edinburgh society, and many of the landowners discussed in previous sections of the present work feature among the members. Vacant spaces were keenly sought - the number of members of the Edinburgh society was set at seventy in 1728, but had rapidly to be increased to 100, due to demand for places.¹¹¹

415 of the 1056 people who appear in lists of members of the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1728 to 1795 were landowners.¹¹² In the table overleaf, membership lists from 1731 and 1744 have been compared. Of the members whose professions are unknown, 10 from the 1731 list and nine from the 1744 list are described as "esq" which probably indicates landownership. Two others are almost certainly landowners: Lord Cranston in the 1731 list, and Baron Kennedy, who is on both lists. Those advocates, writers and law lords who are known to be landowners have been included as such in the table.

¹⁰⁸ Surveys of the Edinburgh and Aberdeen Music Societies have been published by D Fraser Harris, (*Saint Cecilia's Hall*), David Johnson (*Music and Society*, pp. 33-45), and Henry Farmer (*Music Making in the Olden Days*). Less is known about music societies in other towns: Robert Marr reports on music from the Dundee Music Society in *Music for the People*, p. ix, and Farmer gives information on the Glasgow society in *A History of Music in Scotland*, pp. 314-5. Johnson lists a number of other towns which definitely or probably had music societies in *Music and Society* pp. 44-45.

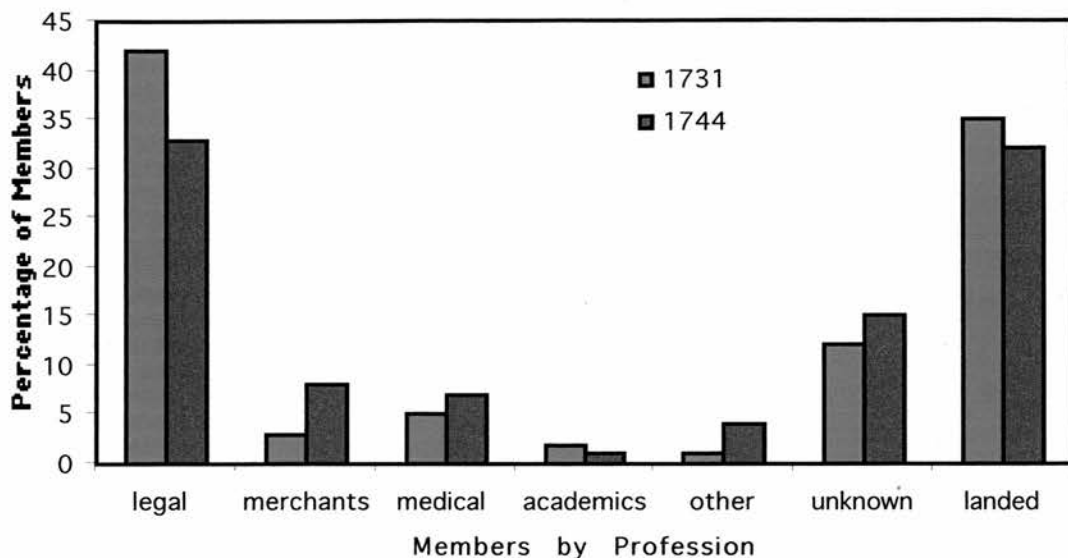
¹⁰⁹ S Sadie discusses the growth and format of music societies in England in "Concert life in Eighteenth-Century England", in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 1985, pp. 17-30

¹¹⁰ Doctoral research on the Edinburgh Musical Society is at present being undertaken by Mrs J Macleod at Edinburgh University, and a full survey of membership can be found in her forthcoming thesis, *The Edinburgh Musical Society: Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797*.

¹¹¹ Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books, 16 June 1731

¹¹² Many thanks to Mrs J Macleod for allowing me access to statistics from her work in progress, from which much of the data in the following paragraphs is derived. Membership lists also exist for the Aberdeen music society from the mid-eighteenth century, and for several other years (from 1728) for the Edinburgh Musical Society: 1731 and 1744 were chosen at random, and as such are probably representative of membership structures from 1728 to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Figure 2.7 Membership of Edinburgh Musical Society, 1731 and 1744



Although landowners are slightly outnumbered in both lists by members of the legal profession, it should be borne in mind that not only advocates, but also barons of the exchequer, writers to the signet, doctors, and merchants were mainly the younger sons of upper class landed families,¹¹³ which would imply that the Edinburgh Musical Society revolved around the landed class.

Representatives of several of the families under survey in this work were members of the Edinburgh Musical Society. These include Baron Clerk of Penicuik, his son and two of his brothers; the 5th Earl of Wemyss and his son Francis Charteris; the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun and his son; and the 7th Earl of Haddington and his son Lord Binning, descended from the younger daughter of George Baillie of Mellerstain. Among the 43 Earls and nine Dukes who vied for membership of the illustrious Edinburgh society were aristocracy from Aberdeenshire and the west of Scotland, including the 4th Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Findlater, the 3rd Earl of Aberdeen and the 6th Duke of Hamilton.

The 7th Earl of Wemyss' subscription payments to the Edinburgh Musical Society are recorded in the Wemyss ledgers: £2-2 on 8 Aug 1757, £24-14 on Dec 23 1760 ("being my subscription to the Musical Society & for other Debursements per discharge"), £30 on Oct 31 1761 ("being my Subscription money for a concert Hall in Edin") and £11-11-6 in 1779. The *Private Accompt 1734-61 of Money received and*

¹¹³ N Phillipson suggests that 96% of advocates admitted between 1707 and 1751 were from landed backgrounds in "Social Structures of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1661-1840" (1980) cited by Houston and Whyte in the introduction to *Scottish Society 1600-1800*, p.18.

*debursed by John Lord Hope*¹¹⁴ includes the future 2nd Earl of Hopetoun's payments to the Edinburgh Musical Society in each of the years 1735, 1736, 1737 and 1738; the presence of the notice of the Edinburgh Musical Society's AGM in 1751¹¹⁵ is the only proof of the Clerk family's involvement in the Music Society surviving among the Clerk of Penicuik papers.

Some of the northern lairds also were members of the Aberdeen music society, which was formed in 1747, and from the early 1750's it was deemed advisable that the presidency of this society be conferred upon the landed members of the society.¹¹⁶ In 1752 Alexander Udny of Udny (a well-known patron and subscriber to published music - see p. 96) was elected to the chair. The preses from then on were all members of the landed class, among them Sir Archibald Grant, 2nd Baronet of Monymusk (preses 1771-2), his son Captain Archibald Grant (preses 1758-9, 1777-8), and nephew the 4th Baronet (1788-89), George Skene of Skene (preses 1761-2, 1783-4), the Duke of Gordon (preses 1766-7), the Earl of Aberdeen (preses 1774-5) and his son Lord Haddo (preses 1790-1), and the Earls of Errol and Kintore. A similar concentration of landowners is evident among the holders of office of the Edinburgh Musical Society. Of the six governors from 1728-96, four were landowners (Alexander Bayne of Rires, the Earl of Dumfries, the Earl of Haddington, the Duke of Buccleuch), and two of the subjects of this work were among the directors in the Edinburgh Society: Francis Charteris (director 1752-4) and Hugh Rose of Kilravock (director 1729).¹¹⁷

Not only were the aristocracy and gentry keen to be added to the list of members of the fashionable and elitist music societies, but it is obvious that in many cases they were happy to be seen to play leading roles in the music societies. As directors and governors, Scottish landowners would have directly influenced musical fashions, promoting and opposing repertoire for purchase and performances as they saw fit, and sharing responsibility for the engaging of both native and foreign professional musicians.

¹¹⁴ NRAS 888 box 137 bundle 8

¹¹⁵ GD 18/4543

¹¹⁶ H G Farmer: *Music Making in the Olden Days*, p. 19. The Minute Books for the Aberdeen Musical Society are now held in Aberdeen Public Library.

¹¹⁷ This information all derives from the database of members of the Edinburgh Musical Society compiled by Mrs J Macleod.

2.5 Assessment of Landowners' Involvement in Musical Activities

I understood pictures better than became my Purse, and as to Musick, I rather performed better, particularly on the Harpsicord, than became a Gentleman¹¹⁸

This well-known quote from the *Memoirs* of Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik (1676-1755) has given rise to the suspicion that Scottish lowland landowners may have felt that musical pursuits were unsuitable for gentlemen of their position. The remark is not isolated: Sir John Clerk makes several other statements in the *Memoirs* to the effect that music was not a worthy pursuit for a man of rank and fortune. Following the death of his brother Hugh in 1750, Clerk wrote:

Amongst other Qualifications which my s[ai]d Brother was possessed of, he play'd on the violencello with all the perfection of the Greatest Master, and rather too well for a Gentleman¹¹⁹

And Clerk reiterates the sentiment in a letter about one Alexander Gordon who was "at first bred up in the idleness of a musitian, but his head has now taken a mor useful, at least a more diverting turn",¹²⁰ and in a passage on musical accomplishment in the lengthy *Advice to a Young Man who is Desirous of Making a Great Figure in the World*.¹²¹

Some young men take it in their heads that they wou'd be very happy and accounted fine Gentlemen if they cou'd perform well on any Instrument of Musick. Believe me, this is a mean turn of mind by which a great deal of pretious time is wasted . . . leave the excellency of the Trade to such mean spirits as never soar higher . . .

Sparse written evidence from other households under survey would seem to support the view that music was not seriously pursued by Scottish landowners. Music is sadly lacking from a letter by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk concerning subjects of books "proper to be in a Gentleman's family":¹²²

. . . the Holy Bible with either notes or expositions thereon a Competent number of other books of Divinity Doctrinall & practicall. of History, Geography, Gardening, Agriculture, architecture, naturall philosophy & mathimaticks

¹¹⁸ *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, ed. John Gray, Scottish History Society, p. 36

¹¹⁹ *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, p. 222

¹²⁰ NLS Adv MS 23.3.26 f 21. John Clerk to P Lindsay, 4 April 1735

¹²¹ GD 18/2326 section 5 (no date)

¹²² GD 345/800

Although it was probably deemed more appropriate for upper class ladies to spend time in musical diversions than for their male counterparts to do so, in a letter of 1758 Dr John Clephane still advises his niece Elizabeth Rose not to waste too much time on this:¹²³

My Dearest Betsy . . . Reading and writing and playing on the spinet is all very well . . . The two first deserve great application. The spinet, too has its merit, and has more than the instrument I once proposed for you - the guitarre . . . methinks music is well as an amusement, but not as a study.

And could it be to music that Sir Archibald Grant is referring in disparaging terms in a letter of 12 June 1748 to his daughter Polly?¹²⁴

. . . improve yourself in knowledge and virtue & a becoming behaviour, suitable to your advance in years. Many of your Sex & even of ours take up with trifling amusements, for want of something better to entertain them. Entertain yourself with virtuous & usefull Books; you can always get the Spectators & History to borrow, & some virtuous plays; but pray avoid Novels & Romances, untill your Taste & Judgement is better Formed . . .

Salignac de La Mothe Fenelon, whose *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter* was very popular in eighteenth-century Britain, advised caution in artistic involvement for young ladies, though acquiescing that should a girl “perceive that there are Charms to be found in Musick” she should be guided in her exercise of her gift, since “prohibition will but increase the Passion; you had better give an orderly course to this Torrent, than undertake to stop it”. Speaking more generally about the guiles of music and painting for both sexes, Fenelon says:

All these Arts are very much of a kind, they all require a quick and working Fancy, and much the same relish. As for Musick, it is well known, that the Ancients believed nothing to be more pernicious to a well regulated sound than to suffer an effeminate Melody to be introduced into it. It enervates Men, and renders their souls soft and voluptuous. Languishing and passionate tunes are only pleasant because the soul gives herself up to the Charms of the Senses, so far as to be wearied with herself . . . Plato severely rejects all the softer Airs of the Asiatick Musick: with much greater Reason the Christians, who ought never to seek Pleasure for pleasure’s Sake, ought surely to have an Aversion for these poisoned Allurements.¹²⁵

An older book written by a Scottish nobleman is similarly negative about musical pursuits in aristocratic households, and the sentiments, though expressed in obsolete language, probably were still current in the late seventeenth century:

¹²³ Cosmo Innes: *Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress*, p. 474

¹²⁴ GD 345/1174

¹²⁵ Salignace de la Mothe Fenelon: *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*, translated and revised by Dr George Hicks. Edinburgh edition published 1750, p. 179. The popularity of the work is proven in the fact that it was reprinted seven times in English translation between 1707 and 1797.

Delight not also to bee in your owne person a plaier upon instruments, especiallie upon such as commonlie men get their living with: because you maie emploie your time better then so; and for the most part wee see that those who are most given to plaie upon them are fantasticke and full of humors, accounting more sometimes to the tuning of their Lute, then of the entertaining and plesant companie of their friends. I maie add that oftentimes the holding of the lute hath hurt the breast, and made manie crooked bodies, as also that playing upon instruments doth disgrace more a noble man then it can grace and honor him in good company, for hee shoulde rather take his pastime of others, then make pastime unto them¹²⁶

These quotations suggest that Scottish landowners might have been generally ambivalent to, or reluctant to be actively involved in, or even averse to, musical pursuits. The suggestion that musical activities might have been somehow less worthy of pursuit than other art forms also seems to be borne out in the account books for some of the families under survey. It is very difficult to assess the proportionate spending on music and other forms of culture, as precise figures for annual income and total expenditure or annual expenditure on specific items are simply not available for any family under survey, and calculation of these would involve extensive perusal of material with no musical relevance. However, there is some evidence in the family account books that expenditure on other cultural pursuits was many times greater than that on music. The cost of building a new country seat was of course vastly in excess of any expenditure on musical pursuits documented in this work, and an expense to which the Hope, Wemyss, Clerk, Maule and Baillie families were prepared to go – along with many of the other landowners in the country. Accounts for paintings purchased are usually included in the main account books, and are generally also greater than the sums spent on music in any year.¹²⁷ Architecture, antiquities and paintings were all favourites of Scottish landowners; vast sums of money were spent building palatial country mansions and beautifying the grounds, and the accumulation of artefacts and artwork by famous masters occupied most of the families. These were visible displays of status and good taste, and were pursued perhaps in preference to musical activities. Music, though it was enjoyed and pursued by all the families investigated, seems to have been

¹²⁶ James Cleland: *The Institution of a Young Nobleman*, Oxford, 1607, pp. 229-230. Many thanks to Dr Christopher Field for bringing this to my attention.

¹²⁷ For example, Lady Grisell Baillie paid the painter Medina £20 in September 1710 for her own and the two childrens' pictures; total recorded expenditure on music tuition, concert tickets, purchase of music and tuning of keyboard instruments was £3-19-6 for the year (Household Book vol. 1). The building of Mellerstain in 1725-6 cost about £1775. The Atholl account books for 1727-45 (NRAS 234 box 51) list many payments for pictures, for example: 8 guineas in May 1735, £50 to Mr Davidson the painter in May 1736, £50 to Davidson in December 1738, 15 guineas to Vanlo, painter, in January 1740, £26 to Davidson in July 1742, etc. These are clearly considerably in excess of the amounts spent on music as documented on pp. 50-52.

rather neglected in comparison to more tangible aspects of cultural development. The expenditure on music is also rather intermittent. In many years many families appear to have spent little on instruments and concert tickets, though expenditure on musical pursuits seems to have increased as the century progressed.

It must be acknowledged that an attempt to draw broad conclusions from these isolated pieces of data in account books is at best somewhat speculative. The information is incomplete, and may appear biased against music merely through the fortuitous survival of more documents relating to much larger expenditure on buildings and parklands. Several additional factors may have further inhibited the volume of evidence for musical involvement: firstly, many musical pursuits and expenditures may not have been documented in the account books, or may be 'hidden' under headings of "money disbursed in London", "pocket money", "family expenses", "allowance to wife" etc. Additionally, as musical references are rarely mentioned in surveys and catalogues of archives, it has been necessary to take calculated guesses as to where musical material may be found, and some relevant material may have been missed; finally, the investigation is obviously limited by the small number of families which have been investigated in depth. These factors may have had significant influence on the picture of landowning participation in musical pursuits as outlined in this chapter; in reality there may have been considerably more musical involvement by the landowners under survey than that for which expenditure has been recorded.

The possibility that landowners may have regarded music as a second-rate pursuit, as was suggested in isolated writings cited above, is similarly patchy and insubstantial. Though further work may reveal more substantial proof of a general negative attitude to musical pursuits, the evidence for expenditure on musical pursuits documented in this research certainly seems to outweigh the suggestion that landowners may have been reluctant to be involved. It has been demonstrated that music was of sufficient importance to the families under survey for significant amounts of money to be spent on the purchase and maintenance of instruments, and on concert tickets and music society membership. There is more evidence for sustained expenditure on music from the middle of the century onwards by most families; this may be a reflection of the increase in wealth in the aftermath of the Act of Union, or it may simply be that the system of book-keeping was less rigorous in the early years of the century.

The families under survey were clearly active rather than passive in their musical involvement: though they attended concerts, the major portion of their expenditure on

music was on domestic musical pursuits. They evidently preferred to play themselves than to engage professionals to play for them, and to acquire up-to-date chamber music than to commission a composer to write for them. Considerable sums were spent on the purchase and maintenance of instruments, especially keyboard instruments, which could be used in domestic performance, and as will be seen in Chapter 5, substantial collections of (predominantly) chamber music were acquired by many landowning families. The portraits commissioned by Scottish landowners provide further evidence of thriving traditions of chamber music, and confirm the popularity of keyboard instruments.

Chapter 3

Patronage of Musicians by the Scottish Landed Classes

In contrast to the preceding chapter which surveyed the active musical involvement of upper class Scottish families, this chapter will focus on the interaction of landowners and professional musicians, exploring the “passive” role of the landed class as supporters of musical activity. Following an overview of the various roles of patrons, specific examples of financial support for musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland will be presented and discussed, and an assessment will be made of the role of the landed classes in the support of musical activities in Scotland at this time.

3.1 Patronage Models

Whether or not the support of music by the landed classes in eighteenth-century Scotland can be termed “patronage” is a problematic issue. No single model of patronage in the eighteenth century can be referred to, and the range of patronage situations described in recent musicological studies is wide. The most intense, and perhaps the best-known, patronage role is the one embodied by Prince Nicholas Esterházy, who employed a group of musicians over an extended period of time, paying them a regular wage and consuming most if not all of their artistic output. Musicians were similarly a prominent part of the workforce of numerous other courts in eighteenth-century Europe. From Berlin under Frederick the Great, to Mannheim with its Electors, from Paris under Louis XIV and XV to the Italian Papal States, musicians played a major part in court life, providing music for hunts, river excursions and parades, music for receptions and banquets, music for court balls, operas, concerts, chamber music, sacred music, music for ballets and pantomimes¹ - all of which combined to glorify and magnify the ruler’s standing, or in Edward Dent’s words, “to concentrate attention on the nobility and magnanimity of the emperor”.²

¹ Eugene K Wolf: “The Mannheim Court”, in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, pp. 213-239

² E Dent: preface to Alan Yorke-Long: *Music at Court: Four Eighteenth Century Studies*, p. XV

The assumption that music should reflect or symbolise the social status of the patron is the basis of Claudio Annibaldi's exploration of music patronage in the Italian Renaissance.³ Though Annibaldi recognises that there is not necessarily a tangible "object" or "return" on music patronage – a performance or an improvisation can do justice as much as a score for a ceremonial or celebratory anthem – he nevertheless bases his conclusions about the way music represents the greatness and good taste of the patron on evidence in compositions, proposing that some styles (for example, *falsobordone*) might not have been deemed suitable for a noble benefactor.⁴

The centrality of written compositions to studies of music patronage was also emphasised in a round table session at the fifteenth congress of the International Musicological Society. An attempt was made to summarise and compare patronage in the Renaissance in specific localities, with the aim of identifying issues which should be addressed by music researchers.⁵ Though the discussion recognised a variety of patronage systems with different aims and procedures, it started from the fact that at the centre of patronage studies in the arts, "there is a body of objects that needs to be evaluated: paintings, musical compositions and literary texts" and the historian's job is to identify how the patron (whether royal, municipal, ecclesiastical or corporate) influenced the character and nature of individual works of art, or genres of art or musical composition. The discussion concluded with a plea to musicologists to explore a wide range of patronage systems rather than focusing on "Big Man" arrangements (royal or princely courts); the patronage systems of institutions such as confraternities have been the subject of recent work,⁶ again illuminating the ways in which a composer might be influenced by an institutional patron.

Many more studies of patronage focus on music of the Renaissance rather than the baroque and classical eras, probably reflecting the centrality of patronage in pre-industrial society, and its decline as a "dominant social process" in the eighteenth

³ His views are summarised in the introduction to *La Musica e il mondo: mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento*, ed. C. Annibaldi

⁴ C. Annibaldi: "Towards a Theory of musical patronage in the Renaissance and Baroque: the perspective from anthropology and semiotics" in *Recercare* vol X, 1998, pp. 173-179

⁵ The discussion is summarised by H. M. Brown in "Local Traditions of Musical Patronage, 1500-1700", in *Acta Musicologica* 63 (1991) pp. 28-32

⁶ Such as Noel O'Regan: *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650*, RMA Monograph 7

century.⁷ However, the image of a patron providing long-term employment for musicians and artists is not confined to continental Europe in the Renaissance; several notable examples of English patrons in the baroque era have long been known to Handel scholars. The third Earl of Burlington supported Handel from 1712 until 1718, along with the painter William Kent; both resided at Burlington House. Horace Walpole was moved to describe the 3rd Earl of Burlington as “the Apollo of the Arts” and the “mecca of literary and artistic London”, adding that:

Never were protection and great wealth more generously and more judiciously diffused than by this great person, who had every quality of a genius and artist except envy⁸

Moreover, such works as the Chandos anthems, *Acis and Galatea*, and the *Te Deum* bear testimony to the debt Handel owed to James Brydge, 1st Duke of Chandos. Though Handel and Pepusch are known to have resided at Cannons, both were “non-salaried musicians-in-residence”⁹ and probably valued Brydge’s appreciation and introduction to other men of learning more than they benefitted financially or materially. In her work on musical life in eighteenth-century London, Elizabeth Gibson cites other examples of English patrons of music: the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Rutland and Lord Bingley are all known to have employed musicians as part of their household retinue.¹⁰

Much of the recent work on the financial support of musicians in England in the first half of the eighteenth century has focused on the patronage of Italian opera. After 1719 people who subscribed to Italian opera in London were making a substantial capital investment – a season ticket cost £200 – not merely paying for an early option on opera seats.¹¹ The eight directors of the opera under Lord Middlesex in 1741 subscribed a

⁷ W L Gundersheimer comments on the decline of patronage in the eighteenth century in his paper, “Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach”, in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed G F Lytle and S Orgel, p. 3. The demise of “traditional” patronage situations is one of the indicators of the move from the baroque to classical era which Neal Zaslaw defines in “Music and Society in the Classical Era” in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, p. 2

⁸ Quoted in Martin S Briggs: *Men of Taste*, ch. XVI, on Lord Burlington

⁹ Graydon Beeks: “A Club of Composers”: Handel, Pepusch and Arbuthnot at Cannons” in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed S Sadie and A Hicks, p. 211. However Pepusch was later appointed Director of Music with a salary of £100 per annum from 1719-23.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Gibson: “The Royal Academy of Music and its Directors”, in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, p. 145

¹¹ E Gibson: “The Royal Academy of Music and its Directors”, p. 140

colossal £1000 each¹² and thirty of the highest nobility were pleased to subscribe £200 apiece to support the opera in the new arrangements for the 1742-3 season.¹³

The model of royal patronage in England in the early years of the eighteenth century has been the subject of recent work by Donald Burrows.¹⁴ George I is now being recognised as an important patron of Italian opera in London: not only did he apparently attend around half of the performances staged annually in London (at a cost of 10 guineas each time), he also gave substantial sums of money to individual musicians¹⁵ and made an annual contribution of £1000 to the commercial opera company which was established in 1720.

Most of the 'patronage' studies undertaken by music historians have identified individuals who have offered financial support to a single musician or an institution over a considerable length of time,¹⁶ and have often, but not necessarily, benefitted materially themselves. More wide-ranging studies have been undertaken by art historians, such as Francis Haskell who has embraced a spectrum of 'patronage' encompassing everything from 'servitu particolare' where the artist lodged in the patron's palace and worked exclusively for him and his friends, to the artist working freelance and accepting commissions for work (frescos, portraits etc.) as he saw fit.¹⁷ In Haskell's view, someone who commissions a single work, as well as someone who merely purchases a completed picture might also merit the term patron – there is no necessity of long-term support of a single artist. Equally someone who, over a lifetime, accumulates a sizeable collection of art works might be regarded as a patron, by redistributing their financial resources to the benefit of artists in general.

¹² Carole Taylor: "From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739-45", *Music and Letters* 68 (1987) p. 6. Middlesex himself was well-prepared to foot further bills as necessary.

¹³ C Taylor: "From Losses to Lawsuits" p. 12

¹⁴ D Burrows and R D Hume: "George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's Water Music" in *Early Music*, August 1991, pp. 323-341

¹⁵ This was in the form of "bounties", value 20 guineas, often on the occasion of singers' benefit concerts (opera performances). Interestingly Handel was never the recipient of one of these gifts; presumably George I reckoned the £200 per annum pension paid to him since 1713 was sufficient patronage.

¹⁶ Important recent works in this field include J Wainwright: *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*; D C Price: *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*; L Hulse: "The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)" in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 1971, pp. 24-36

¹⁷ F Haskell: *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, ch. 1

Art historians also suggest that the support need not necessarily be financial: James Holloway¹⁸ cites many examples of Scottish patrons of artists who themselves supplied only one or two commissions to a painter but whose recommendations to high society brought in much more work. The Duke of Argyll patronised the painter William Aikman in this way¹⁹ – Argyll did not need to employ him permanently; the Duke's influence was enough to bring commissions flooding in. Similarly, painters such as Sir John de Medina were enticed to Scotland by the gentry on the promise of contracts from many quarters; introductions to high society by the Earl of Leven helped to advance this painter.²⁰

From the diversity of these studies it would appear that almost any example of support for artistic endeavour could merit the term 'patronage'. The traditional 'servitù particolare' arrangement, which was the main means of support of artists and musicians in the Renaissance and Baroque eras, was being supplanted at different times in different localities as Europe moved into the classical era. Patronage now did not have to involve long-term support: infrequent and even isolated commissions could merit the term. Nor did patronage now necessarily involve a redistribution of financial resources; patrons such as Burlington, Chandos and the Duke of Argyll in his patronage of painters, seem to have used their influence to heighten the reputation and circle of contacts of their protégés rather than being entirely responsible for their support. There was not even a tangible return or 'product' of patronage (previously the obvious 'return' on the patronage might be a fresco, portrait or sculpture, or a completed score, or evening's entertainment); the only benefit a 'person of quality' might accrue from his support of an artist might be the recognition by all of his good taste and benevolence.

The support offered by the Scottish families under survey to musicians in the eighteenth century seems to fit adequately into this range of patronage models identified by art and music historians. Examples of long-term financial assistance or employment of musicians, isolated or infrequent commissions for entertainment, and gifts for which there does not appear to be a "return" will be examined in the following pages. Further evidence of patronage can be found in the dedications and subscriptions of music printed in eighteenth-century Scotland, and a survey of musical publications forms a substantial part of this chapter.

¹⁸ James Holloway: *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland 1650-1760*

¹⁹ Holloway: *Patrons and Painters*, p. 57

²⁰ Holloway: *Patrons and Painters*, p. 38

3.2 Long-term support of musicians in Scotland

There are a few examples of Scottish families supporting musicians over an extended period of time, and paying an annual wage. James, 2nd Duke of Atholl, seems to have employed performers as and when needed in the early years of the century,²¹ but by 1733 he evidently supported a regular performer, and £1-10 was paid “to Cammron the fidler a years wadges”.²² This was probably the John Cameron cited by Mary Ann Alburger²³ as a fiddler employed by Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, (an estate which bordered the Atholl lands) and whose main claim to fame was as the first teacher of Neil Gow.

Niel Gow himself, arguably Scotland’s greatest ever fiddler and composer of fiddle music, owed much to John, 3rd Duke of Atholl. Gow, the son of two weavers, was born in Inver near Dunkeld in 1727, and the influence of the patronage of the Atholl family is commented on in Gow’s obituary in the *Scots Magazine*:

Having now attained the summit of his profession at home, the distinguished patronage, first of the Athole family, and afterwards of the Duchess of Gordon, soon introduced him to the universal notice and admiration of the fashionable world²⁴

Gow was paid £5 by the 3rd Duke of Atholl in each of the years 1766-8 and 1771-3, “His Graces Allowance to him for a year”.²⁵

It appears that the Wemyss family had a resident piper: George Syme, piper, was paid 1 guinea on 31 December 1758 and 17 June 1763, the former payment being “in full of Wages to Marts last”.²⁶ This man was an esteemed piper from Dalkeith, born about 1700, and died c 1790.²⁷

There is evidence that the first baronet of Penicuik employed a musician as an entertainer for 40 days in 1678.²⁸ William Job, “wioler [violer] & piper” was

²¹ It is difficult to assess this as there are no surviving accounts for the family from the years 1700-27, which may not be a coincidence as the family was suspected of disloyalty on several occasions and may have deliberately destroyed incriminating documents. See p. 90 for evidence of support for musicians after 1727

²² NRAS 234 box 51

²³ Mary Anne Alburger: *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music*, p. 93

²⁴ “A brief biographical Account of Neil Gow” in the *Scots Magazine*, January 1809 (author not stated)

²⁵ NRAS 234 Box 42.III (10)

²⁶ Wemyss ledger 1756-1762

²⁷ David Baptie: *Musical Scotland Past and Present, being a Dictionary of Scottish Musicians*

²⁸ GD 18/2285

supplied with a violin costing £48, for which he had to pay if he left the post, and there was a 12s penalty if he failed to turn up.

There is no indication in any of these cases of what duties the musicians were expected to undertake for their annual wage. It is possible that the annual “wage” was simply a retainer, awarded for the continued association of the musician’s name with the Atholl or Wemyss families, and the prestige this would afford to the families. However, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the musicians concerned were being paid to entertain their respective patrons as required: the well-known David Allan picture of the Highland wedding (reproduced on p. 91), for example, shows Gow and his brother Donald providing music for a local celebration, which was probably a regular occurrence.²⁹ From the fact that the musicians in question are pipers or fiddlers, it can be deduced that musicians were likely to be employed for functional reasons – to provide (traditional) music for dancing – rather than to mount a concert for an attentive audience.

The huge variation in fees would also suggest a disparity in the duties expected of the musicians. In the 1760’s Gow was paid £5 per year; Cameron received £1-10 in 1733, and Syme the piper was given 1 guinea (which might only be half a year’s wages) in 1758 and 1763. Meanwhile Gibson records that the Duke of Portland gave “William Powell musitian” £53-15 for a year’s wages in 1721,³⁰ and Pepusch accepted a hefty £100 per annum as Director of Music at Cannons from 1719-23!³¹

²⁹ According to Mary Anne Alburger (*Scottish Fiddlers and their Music*, p. 95), a watercolour in Blair Castle shows Gow entertaining the Duke’s children. The present archivist does not know of this painting, however the watercolour is reproduced in a book at Blair Castle (for which Dr Alburger was unable at present to supply a title), and was probably painted by a member of the Atholl family.

³⁰ E Gibson: “The Royal Academy of Music and Its Directors”, p. 145

³¹ G Beeks: “A Club of composers”, p. 211

3.3 Infrequent or isolated payments to Musicians

Most of the payments made by the Scottish gentry to professional musicians in the eighteenth century were in the form of isolated payments for entertainment, once again usually supplying background music for dancing or merrymaking. James, 2nd Duke of Atholl, supported local fiddlers, employing them on an “ad hoc” basis as the need arose. “Fidlers and ringers” were employed on two occasions in 1731, at a cost of £1-11-06 and £1-01,³² and there are several entries for payments to a fiddler named Kennedy in the main Atholl family accounts in 1731; he was paid £1-01 on May 29 and £2-01 on June 8.³³ These are exorbitant rates for a solo performer,³⁴ so either Kennedy was supplying a band, or he was playing on several occasions for his fee, or, possibly, he was not in fact being paid as a performer but for supplying instruments; the most likely musician of the name is Alexander Kennedy, born in Scotland (possibly in Perthshire) about 1695, and died about 1785, who became the founder of a reputable firm of violin makers in London.³⁵

Various payments were made by the Grant family to instrumentalists for entertainment, such as the 6d paid “To the fidler”³⁶ at Monymusk on August 14 1740. Two fiddlers were also paid on 29 Aug 1741 (1s, still at Monymusk) and a blind fiddler was paid 6d on 3 October of that year.³⁷ Drums were paid at the fair at Candlemas in January 1742,³⁸ and these instruments were also employed “to intimate the market at Monymusk” (presumably by the drums being beaten through the neighbourhood) on two occasions in February 1736.³⁹ A “pyper” was paid 3d for his services on 6 February 1740, and a blind harper and a fiddler each received 6d in August of that year.⁴⁰ The Baillies of Mellerstain also made frequent payments to local players; the account books contain many payments of “drinkmoney to the fidlers” and “to the pyp and drum at this years fairs”.⁴¹

³² NRAS 234 Box 51

³³ NRAS 234 Box 51

³⁴ Mary Anne Alburger (*Scottish Fiddlers* p. 95) has reckoned that in the 1760's a fiddler would generally command a fee of around 5s per engagement

³⁵ David Baptie: *Musical Scotland Past and Present*, p. 91

³⁶ GD 345/598/4

³⁷ GD 345/598/5

³⁸ GD 345/598/5

³⁹ GD 345/926

⁴⁰ GD 345/928

⁴¹ Household books of Lady Grisel Baillie of Mellerstain 1692-1718 and 1719-1742.

Figure 3.1 **David Allan: Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl, 1780**



Thanks to the National Gallery of Scotland for permission to reproduce this work.

Much of the patronage of musicians was employment of folk musicians - fiddlers, pipers and harpers - but there is also evidence of support for classically-trained professional musicians. The Italian castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci is known to have performed for the Hope family at Hopetoun House,⁴² and other musicians were brought to Hopetoun House to provide entertainment on several occasions in the later 18th century. £2-14-4 was paid to "Jas Robertson to a Chais at omston [Ormiston Hall, East Lothian] to Mr Pupo and one for Domenico Corri"⁴³ on July 7 1778, and a payment of £11 was made belatedly on December 16 1788 "For John Hay his Acco' of a coach Horse and coach to Hop' with Musicians"⁴⁴ in 1781 and 1782. There are also isolated payments for entertainment for the Hope family at various other locations in the 1750's.⁴⁵

Classically-trained musicians were also employed by the first Duke of Atholl (while he was still the Earl of Tullibardine), who made several payments to musicians when he attended the Scottish parliament in 1696:⁴⁶

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 10th Oct | |
| pd to the musick and trumpet | £3 - 0 - 0 |
| to the violers and Hoboyes servants 4 dollers | £11 -12 - 0 |

Wine "given to ye musick and to ye trumpet" is listed on several occasions in the same account, and Drinkmoney "paid to the Musick servants at Belford on Nov 8th 1696" is included in a "nott of some servants that wer not given up in the Lists, the tyme of the parliament".⁴⁷

⁴² 5 shillings was paid "to an express to Mr Tenducci at Hopetoun House" on 26 June 1781, according to Mrs Pat Crichton's article "Hopetoun and Music-Making in the Eighteenth Century" in *Hopetoun House News*, 1992, p. 36; see also comments by George Thomson, cited on p. 95.

⁴³ NRAS 888 box 52 bundle 3

⁴⁴ NRAS 888 vol 555

⁴⁵ NRAS 888 box 53 bundle 4 - expenses on the road to Moffat, include entertainment ["muisc"] on 4 occasions.

⁴⁶ NRAS 234 box 44 V. (3) and (4). According to *The Scots Peerage* The Earl of Tullibardine was Lord High Commissioner to Parliament in 1696, and Secretary of State for Scotland in 1696-8: musicians were probably engaged to provide entertainment at official functions rather than for the Earl's personal pleasure.

⁴⁷ NRAS 234 Box 42 III (10) 8

3.4 Charity to musicians

In most of the above-quoted examples it has been obvious that services have been provided by musicians in exchange for payment. There are also many examples in the accounts surveyed of payments being made to musicians by landowners where there was no 'return' mentioned. In some cases this may simply be an omission from the accounts, and the payment may have been made for some unspecified service, but in other cases it seems the payment made by the landowner may have been a gift, with no expectation of a 'return'. In several cases the situation is clarified by dedications in musical publications (see pp. 99-101) which indicate that some musicians felt indebted to patrons who had bestowed 'charity' on them.

Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss, made several payments to musicians where there is no record of any service rendered in return. Charteris gave £7-1 to "Brown musician" during a trip to England in spring 1757, and a payment of £5-5 was made to "Barsanti musician" at the same time. Further payments of 5 guineas were made to Francesco Barsanti on 5 December 1766, 4 June 1770, and 25 March 1771.⁴⁸

The Hope family's charity to Tenducci (mentioned above, p. 93) is confirmed in a letter to the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun⁴⁹ which indicates that the singer had received considerable financial assistance from the family. The letter opens: "I flatter myself your Lordship's goodness (the many instances of which I have so often experienced) will excuse my not letting you hear from me sooner", and the final page, in Italian, includes the following plea:

Now that I have given to Your Excellency all my news in English, allow me to beg You in Italian to not forget poor Tenducci and to continue to indulge me with you Protection and to extend to My Lady my most humble respects . . .⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Wemyss ledger 1756-1762 and 1766-72. The dedication of Barsanti's *Sei Antifone* (see p. 100) would suggest that the money paid to this musician at least was a charitable gift. Though it was not possible for me to see the second of the Wemyss ledgers, I am indebted to Lady Wemyss for the references she has extrapolated from these accounts.

⁴⁹ NRAS 888 bundle 3-482. The letter is dated Dublin, 31 May 1783, and is referred to in Mrs P Crichton's article "Hopetoun and Music-Making in the Eighteenth Century" in the *Hopetoun House News* 1992 p. 35

⁵⁰ Translation by Luciana Wood in "Hopetoun and Music-Making in the Eighteenth Century"

Further evidence of the Hope family's patronage of the Italian singer is given by the 19th-century music historian George Thomson in his discussion of the performers at St Cecilia's Hall:⁵¹

Tenducci, though not one of the band, nor resident among us, made his appearance occasionally when he came to visit the Hopetoun family, his liberal and steady patrons . . .

It is probably Tenducci who is referred to in a memoir of 1850, cited in a book about the painter David Allan who was a friend of the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun and spent two winters at Hopetoun House:

Many years ago Allan was living at Hopetoun House, making paintings for the then Earl. At that time a company of first-rate Italian singers came to perform in Edinburgh . . . This company were invited to Hopetoun House, where to a great party they sung the finest airs . . .⁵²

The Hope family's musical patronage did not only extend to famous singers; in 1758 the 2nd Countess of Hopetoun sponsored a promising child on the estate:

Disbursements by Robert Dick for My Lady Hopetoun Charity⁵³

Jan 27 1758

| | |
|--|-------|
| To Mrs Guthrie as horse hyre to Edin ^r with her son | 2s |
| To her to buy a fiddle for him | £1-1 |
| To his Master for teaching him four moneths | £1-12 |

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik seems to have patronised the Pole Jakob Kremberg, whose acquaintance Clerk made as a young man studying in Leiden. In a letter of 5 September 1698,⁵⁴ Kremberg addresses Clerk as "Nobilissime Patrone, Fautor honoratissime", both words indicating respect, and the postscript to a letter by Kremberg of 12 June 1698 reads: *Recomendationem et Salutationem meam peto ad Dm. Pasquino, d.Corelli, et alios Patrones et Virtuoses*. In this latter letter Kremberg tells Clerk of the impoverished state to which he has been reduced, and begs him to send "libros" [books?]. Kremberg moved to London in 1697⁵⁵ and seems to have been employed as a singing teacher to the Baillie family in Edinburgh from 1702-4;⁵⁶ it is possible that Clerk used his influence to procure the appointment for his protégé.

Two disbursements were made by the Baillie family to Antonio Bernacchi, a castrato of European repute who worked in London in 1716-17 and 1729 :

⁵¹ Thomson: "St Cecilia's Hall" in Robert Chambers: *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 253 (of 1996 facsimile edition of Chambers' final revision in 1868)

⁵² T Crouther Gordon: *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796: The Scottish Hogarth*, p. 33

⁵³ NRAS 888 box 53 bundle 4

⁵⁴ GD 18/5202/31

⁵⁵ Michael Tilmouth: *Kremberg* in *New Grove Dictionary*

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4 of this work, pp. 112-3, for further details

March 1717 To Mr Barnackes man for sinorina the Dog 0 5 0
 July 8 1717 For a gold watch to Monsr Bernackie the Italian 25 0 0

The first of these payments suggests either that the dog was actually bought from a servant or assistant to Bernacchi, or that Bernacchi made the Baillies a present of the dog, and the servant was paid 5s for delivering the animal. There is no room for doubt in the case of the second disbursement: clearly the Baillie family are making a very expensive gift to Bernacchi. Such gifts to musicians were certainly not without precedent,⁵⁷ and though they might be in return for a specific evening's entertainment, it seems more natural to see these as benevolence or charity to someone on a much lower social rung – much as the king encouraged singers with his bounty.

When the Baillie family resided in Naples in January 1733, they employed a music master, Speltra, paying him 65 ducats in wages. The subsequent entry in the account book for 1733 is interesting:

to ditto to cary him to England 75D 60C

Italian musicians were the usual recipients of the Baillie family's musical patronage, and Bononcini benefitted in March 1725 when 5 guineas was paid for "Bonansinies Pictor" – either a portrait of the man, or a picture sold by the composer to the Baillie family.

Two of the families under survey patronised sacred music. Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk was extremely influential in the improvement of music in the Church of Scotland, and was the first to initiate reform.⁵⁸ He employed an Englishman named Thomas Channon to teach singing on his Aberdeenshire estate in 1753 with remarkable results, and the idea of employing a musician to instruct the laity in the psalm tunes was quickly taken on by the Committee for Improving Church Music in Edinburgh who engaged Cornforth Gilson in 1756 to oversee seven singing schools. Money was also spent by the Hopetoun family on church music on the West Lothian estate, as this invoice from Walter Graham shows:

Decem^r 26th 1758

Sir I was three night a week for the Space of five Months in Hopetounhouse learning the Servants Church Music and as Lady Hopetoun will have me to name so much for my pains I presume to charge two Guineas

Sir I am your humble Servant Walter Graham⁵⁹

⁵⁷ For example, Gibson reports on various gifts of hats, silk stockings and wigs donated by the 3rd Earl of Burlington to musicians in 1715, in "The Royal Academy of Music and its Directors", p. 146

⁵⁸ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, pp. 176-7

⁵⁹ NRAS 888 box 53 bundle 4

Scottish landowners, then, it may be inferred, did not discriminate in their support for musicians in the eighteenth century. They were as willing to offer financial support to players of traditional instruments such as fiddle and pipes, as to opera singers, “classical” instrumentalists, promising local musicians, and ecclesiastical musicians. The choices probably reflect each family’s requirements: the Dukes of Atholl mainly supported fiddlers, so it might be presumed that most of their “musical needs” were for music to accompany dancing. Families who supported trained singers or instrumentalists (such as the Hope family patronising Giusto Tenducci and the Baillie family making gifts to Antonio Bernacchi) probably wanted more formal concerts – but it must be borne in mind that the distinction between art and folk music was not strict. Tenducci quite probably performed Scottish songs for the Hopes, and many of the leading eighteenth-century native fiddlers (for example, Gow, McGibbon, Dow, Mackintosh, McGlashan) were as adept at minuets and trio sonatas as at reels and jigs.⁶⁰

Most of the examples of patronage by eighteenth-century Scottish families fit in at the lower end of the continuum described in the introduction to this chapter. The Scottish upper class generally offered only isolated commissions to professional musicians, employing performers only occasionally, and often not re-employing them. Only a few examples of long-term patronage have been identified. The 3rd Duke of Atholl offered long-term support to Niel Gow, and both the 2nd Duke of Atholl and the 7th Earl of Wemyss paid an annual wage to a musician. Why was there no “servitu particolare” arrangement between musicians and the nobility in eighteenth-century Scotland – where the patron provided lodgings and a wage for a group of artists and consumed and commissioned most or all of their artistic output? David Johnson has suggested⁶¹ that it would have been possible for the Atholl family to keep a small musical establishment in the manner of the continental patrons. There was certainly no shortage of professional musicians to staff such a venture in eighteenth-century Scotland. The most plausible reasons for the family not attempting this are, (1) economic (the family was in straitened financial circumstances in the first three decades of the century and perhaps had not sufficiently recovered by the mid-century to consider such an undertaking) and (2) lack of precedence – not only did the removal of the royal court to London in the seventeenth century result in a lack of central artistic focus within Scotland, but the London court itself was very weak in its patronage of music during

⁶⁰ D Johnson: *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 5

⁶¹ D Johnson: *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 216-7

the eighteenth century,⁶² and the English aristocracy did not fill the lacuna south of the border.⁶³

In addition to the few examples cited above of musicians being supported financially over a long time-scale by Scottish families, the upper class support of music teachers was another important aspect of long-term patronage of musicians. As well as being significant employers and benefactors of performers, members of the Scottish landed classes disbursed considerable sums on musical education for their offspring (discussed fully in Chapter 4) and in this role were perhaps the most reliable source of income for musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland. However, the trends of patronage described above would reinforce the proposition that by and large the landed classes were pro-active rather than passive in their musical activities. Rather than employing musicians to entertain them at home, they preferred to perform chamber music themselves. Rather than commissioning new works which would reflect their own status, the landowners preferred to attend concerts where music by Handel or Corelli was to be performed. They were consumers of musical culture, rather than patrons of individual musicians: they belonged to music societies (which supported professional musicians), they bought and maintained musical instruments (supporting makers and music shops), they created a demand for small-scale chamber music, they attended concert-series and benefit concerts (and opera in London), they supported music teachers – often for a considerable period of time – and they occasionally employed musicians to provide entertainment.

⁶² W Weber: "London: A City of Unrivalled Riches" in *Man and Music: the Classical Era*, pp. 293–4

⁶³ As Weber points out in "London: A City of Unrivalled Riches", p. 295, the musical establishment of the Duke of Chandos was short-lived, and notable as the only example of this sort of aristocratic patronage at the time.

3.5 Dedications and Subscriptions to Music Publications

Given the lack of long-term support for musicians in the examples of financial transactions cited above, it might be justifiable to say that the landed classes were relatively unimportant as patrons *per se* of professional musicians in Scotland. But whatever the conclusions drawn retrospectively about the relationships between the upper classes and professional musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland, there is adequate evidence to suggest that musicians themselves would have defined the situation as patronage. Dedications of books of music (and the dedication of music publications probably also indicates a substantial down-payment towards the endeavour⁶⁴) provide ample evidence that musicians regarded their social superiors as generous patrons and as distinguished supporters of artistic endeavour in eighteenth-century Scotland. Adam Craig for example, in his dedication of *A Collection of Choicest Scots Tunes* to the “Honourable Lords and Gentlemen of the Musical Society of Mary’s Chappell”, pays tribute to the crucial role the upper classes played in supporting musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland, recognising that their favour and esteem was as valuable as their financial support:

As you are Generous Encouragers and Great Promoters of Musick, it is natural for me on this occasion to beg your Patronage which is my highest Ambition the following Collection being the first of the kind, and the Native and Genuine Product of the Country. I flatter my self that the Countenance and Protection of so Noble a Society will make it generally acceptable and contribute much to the Benefit of My Lords and Gentlemen.

In some of the examples cited above of apparently “unmerited” patronage of musicians by Scottish gentry, the support of the benefactor is acknowledged through the dedication of music. Subscription lists are also revealing, showing the readiness of the Scottish upper classes to support musical endeavours financially. The tables overleaf indicate subjects of this thesis who appear on subscription lists to music published in Scotland, or of Scottish music published in London,⁶⁵ along with the names of members of the Scottish landed classes to whom works were dedicated. The dedication of Barsanti’s *Sei Antifone* op. 5 to Lady Catherine Charteris illustrates the obligations that this composer felt to his patrons (who had supported him financially on several occasions - see p. 94):

⁶⁴ Lowell Lindgren: “Handel’s London - Italian musicians and librettists” in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed D Burrows, p. 89

⁶⁵ All spelling of names in subscription lists is as per the original. Though some of the works with no dedication or subscription list would have been published in this state, it is possible that the copies I have seen of certain works may now be lacking the relevant pages.

To the Right Honble the Lady Catherine Charteris

Madam

Your Ladyship will very possibly be surprized at the great Liberty I take to inscribe the following sheets to You; and for which I intreat a thousand pardons: But (Madam) the impulse I felt on the occasion was irresistible! So many are the obligations by which Your Ladyship and Your Noble family have bound me that it wou'd have argued the highest ingratitude had I not seiz'd every opportunity in my power to express the strong sense I shall ever retain of them.

Besides Your Ladyship (as well as Your Generous Consort) is well known not only to Love, but also greatly to encourage the Polite Arts in general, and Music in particular; there is no Person therefore to whom I could with so much propriety have dedicated those Anthems, as to Your Ladyship . . .

The musical patronage of members of the Wemyss family in this way is widespread. In addition to the dedication of the *Sei Antifone* to Lady Catherine Charteris, Barsanti's op. 3 Concerti Grossi were dedicated to James, the 5th Earl of Wemyss (to which all three of his sons subscribed), and works by Francesco Carusi (see Chapter 5 for further details), David Foulis and Johann Schetky were dedicated to Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss. As well as subscribing to copies of works dedicated to the Wemyss family, Francis Charteris also appears on the subscription lists of Barsanti's *Nove overture a quattro*; the Francis Chartres [sic] on the subscription list of William Thomson's 1726 *Orpheus Caledonius* is probably the 7th Earl of Wemyss' maternal grandfather, through whom the East Lothian estates were passed to the Wemyss family.

Tenducci dedicated his harpsichord lessons of 1768 to "Lady Hope", presumably meaning Eliza, the new wife of James Lord Hope who became 3rd Earl in 1782. John, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, contributed to Barsanti's Concerti Grossi, and the Charles Hope on the subscription list of Munro's collection of Scots tunes (1732) was his brother, who eventually succeeded to the Annandale estates.

Barsanti's *Collection of Old Scots Tunes*, 1742, dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Erskine, also reflects well on the Hope family's support for musical endeavours. The dedicatee is probably Charlotte Hope, daughter of the first Earl of Hopetoun, who married Thomas Erskine, son of the (attainted) 6th Earl of Mar in 1741. The Erskine family were strong supporters of Barsanti: the Rt Hon Lady Erskine [Lady Charlotte] and her sister-in-law Lady Frances (daughter of the attainted 6th Earl of Mar) subscribed to Barsanti's Concerti Grossi, and the Right Honourable Lord Erskine who appears on the subscription lists of Barsanti's *Sei Antifone*, Concerti Grossi and *Nove*

overture a quattro is probably⁶⁶ (since his name usually appears alongside easily identified members of the Mar-Erskine family) Lord Thomas Erskine (styled Earl of Mar, though the estates were forfeited). Lord Erskine also subscribed to McGibbon's trio sonatas of 1734 and his violin sonatas of 1740.⁶⁷ The Countess of Mar who subscribed to copies of William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* in 1726 was Frances Pierrepont, wife of the attainted 6th Earl of Mar.

The Rose family from Kilravock appear on three subscription lists. The earliest publication (1732) is Munro's *Collection of the Best Scots Tunes fitted to the German Flute*, which includes Hugh Rose of Culraach on the list of subscribers (ie Culraich, near Nairn). This is probably the 16th baron, who succeeded his father as laird of Kilravock in 1732. His son, known as Hugh Rose of Geddes, appears on the subscription lists of Maclean's *Twelve Solos or Sonatas for a Violin and Cello* and Barsanti's *Concerti Grossi* op. 3.

The Duchess of Hamilton to whom Oswald dedicated his *Twelve Songs composed in the Scotch Taste* (1743) is probably Anne Spenser, the third wife of James 5th Duke (who was succeeded in 1743 by his unmarried son James). Previously the 5th Duke and Duchess had subscribed to Oswald's collection of Scots tunes of 1740. Lorenzo Bocchi dedicated his *Musical Entertainment for a Chamber* to the 5th Duke, whose brother William and sisters Susan and Charlotte are among the subscribers to the publication. In the dedicatory preface to the *Musical Entertainment* Bocchi paid his respects to the Duke and Duchess, whose "favours, infinitely above my deserts, could only proceed from that benign Temper and inimitable Generosity, which have made You the Delight of the present Age, and will render You the Admiration of Posterity". The 5th Duke of Hamilton and his first wife Anne were also among the subscribers to William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1726), and copies were purchased for three other children of the 4th Duke (Ladies Susan and Charlotte and Lord Ann [sic]), and for Lord Archibald Hamilton, whose relationship to the 5th Duke is unclear.⁶⁸

Members of the Baillie family from Mellerstain were also among the subscribers to Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*. "Lady Grisel Bailie" [sic] is the author of the household books, rather than her daughter who by 1726 was Lady Murray of

⁶⁶ Other possibilities are Lord David Erskine of Dun and Lord David Erskine of Cardross

⁶⁷ My thanks are due to Dr David Johnson for allowing me to consult his photocopies of subscription lists for publications by McGibbon (some of which are unavailable in this country).

⁶⁸ Duke James' son Archibald was not born until 1743, and no son of the 4th Duke with this name is known.

Stanhope. Lord and Lady Binning are Charles, eldest son of the 6th Earl of Haddington, and his wife Rachel, who was the second daughter of Lady Grisell Baillie. Lady Murray of Stanhope is notable by her absence from the *Orpheus Caledonius* subscription list, but the third volume of Ramsay's *Music to Accompany the Tea Table Miscellany* was dedicated to her in 1725 or 1726.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik seems to have been more interested in Italian than Scottish music, and the publications to which he contributed are all in Italianate style: Bocchi's chamber sonatas, McGibbon's 1734 trio sonatas, Barsanti's Concerti Grossi op. 3 and Maclean's *Twelve solos or Sonatas for a Violin and Cello*. Clerk's brother Hugh also subscribed to the volume by Maclean, and the 'James Clerk Esq' who is among the subscribers to McGibbon's 1740 violin sonatas and 1734 trio sonatas is probably Sir John's eldest son.

Niel Gow dedicated his first volume of *Strathspey Reels* to the 4th Duchess of Atholl in 1784. The first piece in the collection is *The Dutches of Athole's Strathspey* and many others in the volume commend Gow's patrons: such as *The Marquis of Tullibardine's Giga*, *Dunkeld House*, *Duke of Atholes Delight*.

The Duke of Perth was the dedicatee of Oswald's *Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*, and he also subscribed to Munro's Scots tunes and Barsanti's Concerti Grossi. Two famous manuscripts⁶⁹ of Scottish tunes were also compiled by David Young at the request of this Duke of Perth – perhaps his patronage of music in Scotland would have been very noteworthy if he had not been attainted in the 1745 Jacobite Rising.

Alexander Udny of Udny in Aberdeenshire was another notable patron, whose name appears on five publications. Other northern lairds are sparsely represented, with Sir Archibald Grant, 3rd Baronet of Monymusk, only appearing once (Peacock's *Favourite Scotch Airs*, 1776) and the Skenes of Skene supporting only Barsanti (op. 3 Concerti Grossi and *Nove Overture a quattro*) and Peacock (*Scotch Airs*). Other subjects of the present work who appear only a few times include Alexander Bayne of Logie (Bocchi's *Musical Entertainment*, McGibbon's 1734 trio sonatas) and Lord Colville of Ochiltree, who was the dedicatee of Bayne's treatise of 1717, and was listed as Lord *Colvin* in the Bocchi subscription list.

⁶⁹ The "Duke of Perth" manuscript (original owned by the Earl of Ancaster, photocopy in NLS, MS 21715), and the "Drummond Castle" manuscript (transcription by Murdoch Henderson in NLS, MS 21682)

Funding of Music Publications in Scotland 1717 - c 1770

(and London reprints where relevant)

| Work | Publication details | Copy Consulted | Dedicatee/Subscribers |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Anon (Bayne?) <i>Airs for the Flute</i> | Baillie, Edinburgh, 1735 | NLS Ing 299(7) | Dedicated to Lady Gairlies. No subscription list. |
| Alexander Bayne: <i>An Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'bass</i> | Alexander Baillie, Edinburgh, 1717 | NLS 6.208(11) | Humbly Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Colvill. No subscription list. |
| Barsanti: <i>A Collection of Old Scots Tunes with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord</i> | Edinburgh, Alexander Baillie, 1742 | Lbl: f.74 | Most Humbly dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Erskine. No subscription list. |
| Barsanti: <i>Sei Antifone op 5</i> | London?, 1750 | Lbl: Mad.Soc.13.(11) | Dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Catherine Charteris. Large subscription list includes: The Honourable Francis Charterys Esq, Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Barwick Bart, The Right Honourable the Lord Erskine, Edinburgh Music Society, Duncan Forbes Esq, Mr James Oswald |
| Barsanti: <i>Concerti Grossi op 3</i> | Edinburgh, 1742 | Lbl: g.261 | Dedicati all'Eccellenza di Giacomo, Conte di Wemyss, Barone d'Elcho &c &c. Subs list (137 names) includes: Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, The Hon Francis Charteris Esq, The Rt Hon the Lady Erskine, The Rt Hon the Lady Frances Erskine, The Rt Hon the Lord Erskine, The Rt Hon the Lord Elcho, The Hon Society of Musick in Edinburgh, David Foulis, Her Grace the Duchess of Hamilton, His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, The Rt Hon the Earl of Hoptoun, His Grace the Duke of Perth, Hugh Rose of Geddes, George Skeene of that Ilk Esq, Alexander Udney of that Ilk, The Rt Hon the Earl of Wemyss, The Rt Hon Master James Wemyss |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Barsanti: Nove overture a quattro, due violini, viola e basso, op 4 | Edinburgh?, 1742? | Lbl: g.417.e. | Dedicate a Sua Eccellenza Francesco Zaverio, Conte d'Haslang . . . Gran Maestro Ereditario dell'Alta e Bassa Baviera. Subscription list includes gentry from much of Europe, including The Honble Francis Charterys Esq, the Earl of Eglinton, the Earl of Home, the Right Honble Lord Erskine, Charles Hope Vere, Mr James Oswald, Geo:Skeen of that Ilk Esqr |
| Bocchi: A Muscicall Entertainment for a chamber and a Scots Cantata | Edinburgh, 1726? | Cambridge Uni MR 320.a.70.17; NLS F.7.e.25 | Dedicated to His Grace James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. Subscription list includes: Rt Hon the Marquess of Annandale, Mr Bain, Rt Hon the Lord Colvin, Rt Hon Lord and Lady Drummond, Hugh Dalrimple, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Duncan Forbes of Collogden Esq, His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Her Grace the Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon, Lord William Hamilton, Lady Charlotta and Lady Susanna Hamilton. Names of Baron Clark, Lady Jean Douglas and Cpt Gordon handwritten in NLS copy. |
| Bremner: The Rudiments of Music, or a Short and Easy Treatise on that Subject, to which is Added a Collection of the Best Church-tunes, Canons and Anthems | Edinburgh, 1756 | Gu A.e.49 and Ca.9-d.17 | Dedicated to the Right Honourable, the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town-Council of the City of Edinburgh and the other honourable and reverend members of the Committee for Improving Church-Music |
| Bremner: Thirty Scots Songs for a voice and Harpsichord | Edinburgh, Bremner, 1757 | Gu Ca.9-a.7 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Bremner: A Second Set of Scots Songs, adapted for . . . | Edinburgh, Bremner, 1759 | Gu Ca.9-a.7 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Bremner: The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany Being a Collection of Proper Lessons for Beginners & others | Edinburgh, Bremner. Book 1 1761-2; book 2 1764. | Gu Ca.9-y.38 and NLS Glen 229 | No dedication or subscription list. |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Bremner: Instructions for the guitar, with a collection of airs | Edinburgh, Bremner, 1758 | Gu Ca.9-d.2 and NLS MH.s.252 (1-3) | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Francesco Carusi: sei sonate per due violini overo due flauti traversi e basso per il cembalo o violoncelle | London, Rutherford, [c 1750?] | NLS MH.21 (3) | Umilmente Dedicate all Ecc.mo Signore Il Signor Charteris di Amisfield |
| Craig: Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes adapted for the Harpsicord or Spinnet | Edinburgh, 1730 | NLS Glen 168 | Dedicated to the Honourable Lords and Gentlemen of the Musical Society of Mary's Chapel. No subscription list. |
| Foulis: Six Solos for the Violin with a Bass for Violoncello or Harpsichord | Edinburgh, c 1776 | NLS Mus E.1.62 | Inscribed to the Hon Francis Charteris Esq of Amisfield. No subscription list. |
| Gow: 1st Collection of Strathspey Reels | Edinburgh, 1784 | Gu Ca.12-y.35 | Most humbly Dedicated to her Grace the Dutchess of Athole by Niel Gow at Dunkeld. First tune is Dutchess of Athole's Strathspey, many other tunes connected with Atholl, Dunkeld etc. No subscription list. |
| McGibbon: 6 Sonatas or Solos for a German flute or violin and a bass | Edinburgh, Cooper, 1740 | Library of Congress | No dedication. Subscription list includes Barsanti, James Clark Esq, Mr Hugh Clark junior, Adam Craig, Hon Hew Dalrymple, George Drummond, Rt Hon Lord Erskine, Hon Gilbert Elliot of Minton, John Erskine Esq, David Foulis MD, Mr James Oswald, Alexander Udney of that ilk |
| McGibbon: Six Sonatas for 2 German flutes or Two Violins and A Bass | Edinburgh, Cooper, 1734 | NLS Mus Box 382.23 - xerox of Cambridge copy | Dedicated to the Right Honourable Susanna Countess of Eglintoun. Subscription list includes Edinburgh Music Society (10 copies), Mr Alexander Bayne of Logie Advocate, Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, James Clerk Esq, Mr Hugh Clerk junior, Mr Adam Craig, the Hon Hew Dalrymple, the Rt Hon Lord Erskine, the Rt Hon Lady Frances Erskine, Gilbert Elliot, Mr David Foulis, Alexander Udney of Udney |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| McGibbon: Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or Two violins and a Bass | London, Rutherford, c 1745 | NLS Mus Box.382.24 - xerox of Cambridge copy | No dedication or subscription list. |
| MacGibbon: Six Sonatas for 2 German flutes | Simpson edition, 1748, London | Lbl: e.463 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| McGibbon: A collection of Scots Tunes, some with variations for a violin, hautboy or German Flute | Edinburgh, Cooper, book 1 1742, book 2 1746 | Gu Ca.9-y.1, NLS Glen 168, Boughton MC.4.8(2) | Boughton copy only has a subscription list for book one: c 145 names, mainly Scottish, including James Clark Esq, Mr Hugh Clark, Rt Hon Lord Erskine, David Foulis MD, His Grace the Duke of Perth, Mr Hugh Rose, Alexander Udney. |
| Maclean: A Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes with variations for the Violin & c and a bass for the Violoncello & harpsichord | Stewart, Edinburgh, 1770? | Lbl: e.343.(2) | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Maclean: Twelve Solo's or Sonatas for a Violin and Cello op 1 | Cooper, Edinburgh, 1737 | Lbl: g.683 | Dedicated to the Honourable The Governour & Members of the Musical Society. Subscription list with 59 names, includes Sir John Clerk, Bart; Mr Hugh Clerk; John Erskine, Esq; Hugh Rose of Geddes, Alexander Udny of Udny, and the organists of St Andrew's Chapel, Banff, and St Paul's Chapel Aberdeen. |
| Alexander Malcolm: A Treatise of Musick, Speculative, practical and Historical | Edinburgh, 1721 | Gu SpColl Ea6-e.27 | Dedicated to the Directors of the Royal Academy of Musick, include Duke of Queensberry, Earl of Stair |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Munro: A Collection of the Best Scots Tunes fitted to the German flute | Paris, 1732 | Lbl: g.17 | 110 English and Scottish names on subscription list, including Lord Aberdour, Lord Bagenij, the Earle of Craford, Lord John Drummond, Lord Erskin, the Marquis of Grahame, the Lord Garles, the Honble Charles Hope, Lord Lovat, the Earl of Marshal, Mr Henery Maul, Mr James Maul, the Duke of Perth, Hugh Rose of Culraach, the Marquis of Seafort |
| Oswald: A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes for a Violin, Bass viol or German Flute with a thorough bass for the Harpsichord | Edinburgh, 1740 | NLS Glen 168 | Dedicated to James Duke of Perth. c 300 on subscription list including Lord Belhaven, Earl of Cromarty, Marquis of Drumlanrig, Earl of Dalkeith, Mr James Erskine of Grange, Hew Fraser Master of Lovat, His Grace James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton and Brandon, His Grace James Duke of Queensberry, Rt Hon the Marquis of Tweeddale, Alexander Udny of that ilk. |
| Oswald: 12 Songs composed in the Scotch Taste for a person of distinction | London, Simpson, [1743] | Lbl: G.567 | Humbly inscribed to Her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton. No subscription list. |
| Oswald: Colin's Kisses set to Musick | s.l. 1743 (London) | Lbl: E.1747 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Oswald: Caledonian Pocket Companion . . set for German flute | London, Oswald, 1745-c1770 (12 vols) | Er P 5652 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Pasquali Thorough-Bass Made Easy | Brenner, Edinburgh, 1757 | NLS Glen 229 and Mus.E.m.11 | No dedication or subscription list. |
| Peacock: Fifty Favourite Scotch Aires for a Violin, German Flute and Cello | Aberdeen, c 1776 | NLS Ing 146 | Dedicated to the Earl of Errol. 159 subscribers, mainly Aberdeen area, including Aberdeen Music society (4 copies); The Earl of Errol (6 copies); Edinburgh Music Society, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, George Skene of Skene Esq (6 copies) many of Aberdeen Mus Soc |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Schetky: 6 Solos for the Violoncello op4 | Bremner, London, 1776 | Lbl: g.511.(2) and g.514.a.(6) | Dedicated to Francis Charteris. No subscription list. |
| Stuart: Music for Allan Ramsay's Scots Songs (Tea Table Miscellany) | Edinburgh, Cooper, 1725? | Gu Ca.9-e.12 | 6 books, dedicated respectively to the Countess of Eglintoun, the Right Honourable Lady Somerville, the Honourable Lady Murray of Stanhope, the Honourable Lady Weir, Miss Christian Campbell and Mrs Young. No subscription lists. |
| Tenducci: A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano & Forte | Edinburgh, 1768? | L.bl: h.726.q.(10) | Dedicated to the Right Honble Lady Hope. Includes Lady Hopes Minuet with variations. No subscription list. |
| William Thomson: Orpheus Caledonius | London, 1726 | L.bl: 1.367.b | Large subscription list of English and Scottish peers, include The Right Hon. the Lady Grisel Bailie, Lord Binning, Lady Binning, Francis Chartres Esq, Earl of Dalkeith, Countess of Dalkeith, Sir Gilbert Elliot Bart, Duke of Gordon, John Gregory Esq, Dutchess of Hamilton, Duke of Hamilton, the Right Hon Lord Archibald and Lord Ann Hamilton, the Right Honourable Lady Charlott and Lady Susan Hamilton, Countess of Marr, Duke of Queensberry, Dutchess of Queensberry, Earl of Wemyss, Marquis of Tweeddale |

3.6 Conclusions

Clearly eighteenth-century Scotland was a lucrative environment for a professional musician. The present study has shown that there was considerable patronage of musicians by upper class Scottish families, and the evidence from dedications of printed music in particular shows that the musicians themselves regarded this support as significant. Though no landowner attempted to maintain a permanent musical establishment in the manner of continental patrons, there is a surprising body of evidence for long-term support by Scottish families for musicians, ranging from the annual wages paid by the Atholl and Wemyss families, to the anecdotal evidence of the Hopes' patronage of Tenducci and the Atholls' patronage of Gow, to the letters suggesting Clerk's patronage of Kremberg, and the proof of the Wemyss family's support of Barsanti and the Hamilton family's support of Bocchi from the dedications of publications. Most of the financial support for musicians outlined in this chapter fits in lower down in the "patronage continuum" detailed in the introduction to the chapter: Scottish landowners were on the whole consumers rather than patrons, preferring to attend concerts, employ teachers and subscribe to music publications rather than pay musicians to entertain them or write music for them. From a musician's viewpoint, the situation was ideal: they were tied to no-one, and could undertake "commissions" as they wished, and the broad base of patronage was unlikely to collapse, as it was in continental "servitu particolare" arrangements when a wealthy ruling family fell from favour.

Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in many European countries music thrived only where the landowners were interested in spending their income on employing musicians and establishing opera houses.⁷⁰ The ruling classes were the only section of society who could possibly support musical activities and music necessarily flourished in courts and ecclesiastical centres. Britain was a step ahead: by the middle of the century, leisure pursuits were within the financial reach of many more people in Scotland and England than in continental Europe.⁷¹ The landowners (by

⁷⁰ D Johnson: *Music and Society*, pp. 8 - 9

⁷¹ The growth of leisure pursuits and luxury consumption among all classes, specifically in England, is explored fully in John Brewer: *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*; and N McKendrick, J Brewer and J H Plumb: *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England*. Weber ("London: A City of Unrivalled Riches") also discusses the growth of the consumer market and its effect on the music industry in eighteenth century London, but attributes the growth of musical life to the nobility rather than a "rise of the middle classes" (p. 298), an argument which seems relevant only in the discussion of Italian opera.

definition the wealthiest section of society) were still important, especially in the survival of very expensive ventures such as opera, but as consumers of musical culture, the upper classes played a similar role to the professional classes (doctors, lawyers) and the upper middle classes: all had the means (and desire) to attend concerts, theatres and pleasure gardens; all could afford to purchase cheap sheet music; many could afford to purchase a musical instrument, and even perhaps pay for instruction by a professional musician. Britain was ahead of its time in Europe, and was relatively stable politically and economically. Wealth and power were not concentrated in a small number of despots, but were spread among a large landed class and a growing professional class, who collectively patronised the arts. The arts became commercialised early in Scotland – literature, music and theatre especially were open to everyone, not just the wealthiest noblemen.

Consequently, while landowners with their wider financial means were significant in the flourishing music industry in eighteenth-century Scotland, their patronage of musicians must be seen as part of the larger picture of a modern, commercial music industry. Musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland worked freelance, but had plenty of opportunity for employment as performers or teachers in private households, or to play in public concerts, theatre houses and assemblies. They also had ample opportunity for cultivating the friendship, protection - and occasional monetary gifts - from the landed élite. Scotland was at the forefront of change, in an era which saw the demise of traditional patronage situations and the rise of bourgeois and civic patronage.⁷²

⁷² This is one of the indicators of the move from the Baroque to the Classical era, as defined by N Zaslav in "Music and Society in the Classical Era" in *Man and Music: The Classical Era*, p. 2

Chapter 4

Music Education in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

This chapter will focus on the provision of music instruction for the children of the landowning families under survey, and draw conclusions on the role of the landowners in the support of music teachers in eighteenth-century Scotland. As has been suggested in the previous chapter, the long-term financial support of music teachers may have been the most significant aspect of the musical patronage of the landowning families investigated in this thesis. This patronage of musicians will be explored and analysed in the course of this chapter, and comparisons will be drawn between the income available to musicians from other sources (for example, performing) and the income from teaching upper class children.

A large part of the education of the children of landowners took place at home, and masters of subjects considered to be important were engaged to attend the children at specific times. The first section of this chapter explores the extent to which private instruction in music was procured for the children of the sample of families, drawing on information from family accounts about payments to music teachers. Though for various reasons the information on the musical education of the children may be incomplete, it has nevertheless been possible to identify some trends in the cost of music tuition, and in the ethnic background of the teachers, the instruments most commonly taught and the geographical location of lessons. A survey of teaching material available in eighteenth-century Scotland, including a detailed description of recently-discovered didactic manuscript material, gives some idea of the repertoire an aristocratic beginner might have studied, and the teaching approaches of some of the masters working in Edinburgh.

The second section of the chapter deals with institutionalised education, considering how much music was part of the curriculum in schools attended by the children of the families under survey and comparing the musical education available to boys and girls. The Grand Tour, which was often the final phase of an aristocratic boy's education, may have had special significance, not only on the individual boy's musical development, but perhaps on the development of musical taste in Scotland more generally; this is explored at length in the third section of the chapter, before conclusions are drawn on the importance of landowners as patrons of music teachers.

4.1 Provision of Private Music Instruction for Children of Landed Families

Lady Grisell Baillie of Mellerstain went to extraordinary lengths to procure music instruction for her daughters Grisell and Rachel in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The expenditure on music for Grisell especially shows what an important part of her education it was considered to be. Overleaf are listed the payments to music masters detailed in Lady Grisell's household book from 1692 to 1712; the currency is Scots till 1709, and sterling (worth twelve times as much as Scots) from January 1710.¹ Masters of thorough-bass, singing, viol, and flute were variously employed for the two girls; Crumbden, the "playing" master was most likely a harpsichord and spinet teacher. There were no payments made to music teachers in 1706, 1708 and 1709 (and there are also years when no payments were made to Kremberg – 1703 – and Crumbden – 1704). The years when no music teachers were employed were spent entirely or mostly on the Mellerstain estate; however, one payment in 1710 and one in 1712 were made when the family resided on the country estate (see below, p. 120, for a discussion of where lessons occurred).

The younger Grisell Baillie married Lord Binning in 1710 and separated from him in 1714; she seems to have lived with her parents thereafter, and music accounts begin again in 1718 (by which time the family was resident in London). One guinea was paid on 10 February 1718 "For entry to Grisies Master on the Herp" and the "herper" received a further three guineas on 2 August of this year for teaching Grisell for a month. She evidently also received tuition in another instrument simultaneously (probably harpsichord) as 5 guineas was paid to "Mr Pepue Grisies playing master" (presumably JC Pepusch) in November 1718. The next playing master was Giuseppe Sandoni (spelt St Dony or Santdony in the Baillie Household book), who was paid six guineas for teaching Grisell for two months between January 1719 and December 1721.

¹ Lady Grisell states in the Household Book: "I begine to count Sterline money January 1710 all the accounts befor that is Scots money".

Figure 4.1

Music teachers employed by Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1712

| <u>Teacher's Name</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Account book entry</u> | <u>Amount paid</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------|---|------------------------|
| Crumbden | 1701 | Edinburgh June 10 For Grisies quartere with Crumbin | £19-07 |
| | | Oct 2 To Crombin for a quarter to Grisie | £17-08 |
| | 1702 | May To Mr Crumbin Grisies playing master for a quarter past 6 dollers and a doller for tuning | £20-06 |
| | | June 30 To Mr Crumbin for a month to Grisie | £7-08 |
| | | Nov 20 For a flute £6 a quarter with Crumbin 6 ^{1/2} doll. | £25-01 |
| | 1703 | To Crumbin a quarter in advance | £19-01 |
| | 1705 | 25 Jan Edinburgh To Mr Crumbin for a quarter | £18-07 |
| | | April A Quarter to Crumbin | £18-17 |
| | 1707 | To Crumbin for a quarter throwgh bass to Grisie 2 guinys | £25-16 |
| | 1710 | January, Mellerstain. To Mr Crombine half a moneth | 10s |
| Kremberg | 1702 | Edenburgh January To Grisies singing Master Krenberg | £14-04 |
| | | Feb 28 For Grisies singing to Mr Krenberg | £7-08 |
| | | May To Mr Kramberg, Grisell's singing master for the mounth past | £7-08 |
| | | Nov 20 To Grisis singing Mr Cremberg | £7-08 |
| | 1704 | Feb 26 To Grisells singing a mounth [Kremberg?] | £7-08 |
| | | Nov To Grisies singing Master a 1/2 mounth & book | £5-03 |
| | | Nov To Grisies singing Master | £3-14 |
| Sainte-Colome | 1707 | January. For mounthes at the viol to Grisie with Sinckolum | £12 |
| | | June 6 For 2 mounth to Grisie with St Culume on the vyoll etc | £15-03 |
| Steall | 1707 | January To John Steall singing master, for 2 mounthes to Grisie | £24-0 |
| | 1710 | Aug To Mr Steall for Grisie | 12s |
| | | Nov 8 To Mr Steall for Grisie | 12s |
| McGibbon | 1711 | To Mcgiven for two Moneth at the flook & a book 2s | £1-02 |
| | | To Mcgiven 2 moneth for Rachys flute | £1 |
| | 1712 | Mellerstain Jan 8 To Mr McGibber for teaching Rachy the flook 3 moneth | £1-10 |

Sir John Clerk, 1st Baronet of Penicuik, engaged Robert Yooll to teach his daughters Catharine and Christian in 1714 – £10 Scots was paid for two quarters' singing tuition and for a singing book.² The girls also had writing and dancing lessons. Mr Sharreter, an organist and music master who had recently come from Aberdeen, was recommended to Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet, in November 1734,³ but there is no indication of whether or not he was employed by Sir John or whom he taught.

The 2nd Earl of Hopetoun sent his eldest daughter, Lady Betty, to London in 1748 in the care of Mrs Betty Short, and accounts for the private masters engaged by Mrs Short are among the Hopetoun muniments. There are many discharges by the organist John Keeble for music lessons among the accounts of money paid for drawing, writing and Italian masters. The earliest of these is for £31-10 for "teaching Lady Betty fifteen months from 15 Nov [1748] to 23 April 1750",⁴ Keeble was next paid £23-02 "for 10 months harpsichord" on 2 May 1749, and thereafter at a rate of 2 guineas every 9 or 10 days until 20 June 1751.⁵ Keeble is the only music teacher listed in Betty Short's account, and there are regular payments for violin accessories and music, so it might be conjectured that Keeble was teaching Lady Betty both violin and harpsichord (and possibly also singing). The total account for masters for Lady Betty in 1751 was £80-02-8, of which Keeble's music account amounted to £49-0-5, over half the total.⁶

A decade later Betty's sister Harriet went to Edinburgh (again with Betty Short) and tuition in harpsichord and singing was procured for her. She seems to have studied harpsichord first with Nicolo Pasquali, for £1-02-6 was owed to his widow for nine lessons at Pasquali's death in 1757.⁷ After this Lady Harriet was instructed by James Bremner, and Betty Short's accounts record payments of one guinea to him about every twenty days from 30 Jan 1758 to 18 June 1758, and a payment of £3-18 on 24 Nov 1758 "for 3 moneths and nine lessons".⁸ In 1759 Bremner received £5-01-6 "for 5 moneths teaching on the harpscord":⁹ the total bill for masters in 1759 was £15-04-5 (dancing, drawing, shellwork, writing, music), of which the money paid to

² GD 18/2178

³ GD 18/4542

⁴ NRAS 888 bundle 65/2

⁵ NRAS 888 bundle 59/1 and bundle 585

⁶ NRAS 888 bundle 585

⁷ NRAS 888 bundle 395

⁸ NRAS 888 bundle 395

⁹ NRAS 888 bundle 52/3

Bremner amounted to a third. In 1759 Lady Harriet also had six singing lessons, at a cost of 1s per lesson, from Cornforth Gilson.¹⁰

Hugh Rose, 16th laird of Kilravock, spent a lot of time in Edinburgh, where his children had opportunities for music tuition: "the season 1734-5 was spent in Edinburgh, where the accounts show large outlays for masters of dancing and music for the daughters . . .".¹¹ One of the younger daughters of this laird was sent to stay with her older sister (probably Elizabeth) in Edinburgh 1751 for the purpose of her education; she wrote to her father:

The only schools my sister thinks proper to send me to just now, are, Millinary, Pastery, and Dancing, the Singing she thinks will do better when I'm a little practis'd in those I have nam'd, and by that time Mrs Storrer will be come down from London, who they tell me teaches much better then any we have here just now.¹²

"Practisings" [dancing] feature in the accounts laid out for Jean, daughter of the 15th Laird of Kilravock in 1722, when the family was in Edinburgh, along with "entering to learn French" and seeing a play.¹³

Stephen Clarke, the organist of St Paul's Episcopal Church in Edinburgh and harpsichordist for the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1769 – 1777, was employed by the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun as music master to his children in the 1780's.¹⁴ The music society minutes for January 1777 record that Clarke had been unable to attend the weekly concerts in 1777 because of his teaching duties at Ormiston Hall (on Fridays), and the Hopetoun account books confirm that Clarke indeed attended the Hope girls on the East Lothian estate rather than in Edinburgh.

The Earl of Wemyss also seems to have employed private music teachers. A payment of thirteen guineas was made "to Musick Masters" in March 1760 when the family was in London, and 2 guineas was paid "to Arrigoni, music master", in 1766.¹⁵ This latter payment may have been made in Edinburgh, as "Signor Arrigoni" advertised his concert in Saint Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh in the Edinburgh Evening Courant in January 1768.¹⁶ The Wemyss accounts do not record who was taught by any of the music masters, nor is there any indication of the instruments which were studied.

¹⁰ NRAS 888 bundle 52/3

¹¹ *Genealogical Deduction of the family of Rose of Kilravock*, ed Cosmo Innes, p. 411

¹² GD 125 box 27 bundle 1. Letter dated Edinburgh 30th May 1751

¹³ *Genealogical Deduction*, p. 401

¹⁴ NRAS 888 vol 555 and 519

¹⁵ Wemyss Ledgers 1756-62 and 1766-72

¹⁶ This concert is cited by D Fraser Harris in *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, p. 221

4.1.1 Trends in private music education: teachers

The majority of the music teachers engaged by Lady Grisell Baillie to teach her daughters were foreign. Henry Crumbden or Krumbein was a Swede, and master of Edinburgh song school in the early eighteenth century.¹⁷ Jakob Kremberg was from Poland and arrived in London, via Germany, Sweden and Italy, in 1697. Nothing is known of him from 1697 till 1708, when the title page of his *Collection of Easy and Familiar Aires* (1708) states that he was by this time one of the Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Musick;¹⁸ the Baillie accounts for 1702-4 suggest that some of the interim period was spent in Edinburgh. "St Culume" who taught Grisell viol in 1707 was the son of the famous violist Sainte-Colombe, who was known to be in London in 1713,¹⁹ and who had played in the 1695 St Cecilia's day concert in Edinburgh.²⁰

When the Baillie family lived in London in the second decade of the eighteenth century, the Italian Giuseppe Sandoni taught Lady Grisell harpsichord, and three other Italian musicians (Giordani, Caristini and Speltra) were employed when the Baillie family lived in Italy in 1731-3. Italian musicians were employed by two other Scottish families: Arrigoni, who taught the children of the Earl of Wemyss in 1766, was probably one of the sons of the Italian composer Carlo Arrigoni, who had worked in London in the 1730's, and Niccolo Pasquali, leader of the Canongate Theatre and Edinburgh Music Society Orchestras, taught the daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun in Edinburgh in 1757.

Whether by design or accident, all the music teachers except Pasquali employed by the second and third Earls of Hopetoun were English. Northumbrian Stephen Clarke (died in Edinburgh, 1797) was the organist at the Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate, the congregation at the time meeting in Old St Paul's building in South Gray's Close, which is now St Patrick's RC church.²¹ Clarke achieved fame through his collaboration with Burns to provide settings of Scots songs for Johnson's *Scots*

¹⁷ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 30.

¹⁸ M Tilmouth: "Kremberg" in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*

¹⁹ Clyde Thompson: "Sainte-Colombe" in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. No first name is known for the son of the famous violist.

²⁰ Tytler: "On the Fashionable Amusements in Edinburgh" in *Transactions of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland* 1 (1792) pp. 499-510; Ian Woodfield: "The Younger Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh" in *Chelys* 14 (1985) pp. 43-4

²¹ D Fraser Harris: *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, p. 100. According to R Marr (*Music for the People* p. xxxii) the Snetzler organ from the Cowgate Chapel was sold to St Andrews Chapel in Glasgow before 1785, by which time the Episcopal congregation from the Cowgate had moved to the York Place building which is now known as St Paul's and St George's, and the Cowgate building had been purchased by the Catholic congregation and renamed St Patrick's.

Musical Museum of 1787-1793. Cornforth Gilson, who taught Lady Harriet singing, was a chorister from Durham Cathedral, and was engaged by the Committee for Improving Church Music in Edinburgh in 1756 to oversee seven singing schools, run by Messers Lauries elder and younger, Chrystie, Dallas, Fyfe, Lethem and Mrs Gordon.²² John Keeble, who instructed Lady Betty Hope when she was sent to London, was a renowned English organist and composer, employed at St George's Church in Hanover Square and at Ranelagh in the 1740's and 50's.²³

Only three Scots are among the musicians employed by the families under survey in this work. The Mr McGibbon who taught Rachel Baillie flute was almost certainly Malcolm McGibbon, a professional oboist who played in the 1695 concert in Edinburgh, and was father to the more famous William McGibbon, composer and violinist (born circa 1690). James Bremner, teacher to Harriet Hope in 1759, was contemporary with, and probably the brother of, Robert Bremner the music seller. James Bremner is mentioned in a letter in the Clerk of Penicuik archives sent from Rome on 24 April 1761:²⁴

There is here another fidler out of Fife, James Bremner who was sent to improve by the Edin^r concert people. He plays excessively well & is likely to engage a girl for them here, who I shou'd think wou'd give great satisfaction.

John Steill, who taught Grisell Baillie singing, was one of Edinburgh's first concert promoters, involved in staging concerts in St Mary's Chapel from the year 1700.²⁵ The music society held its meetings in Steill's tavern, the Cross Keys, in Edinburgh's High Street, before alternative premises were arranged after the formal constitution of the society in 1728.²⁶

²² Edinburgh Evening Courant, 2 Dec 1756

²³ Stoddard Lincoln: "Keeble" in *New Grove Dictionary of Music*

²⁴ GD 18/4894 (Clerk papers) - letter from James Adam.

²⁵ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, p. 33. The purchase of tickets for these concerts, as recorded in the Baillie Household Book, is crucial evidence for this.

²⁶ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, p. 33

4.1.2 Trends in private music education: instruments

The table (figure 4.2) lists each of the music teachers known to have been supported by the families under survey and gives details of the instruments taught to each of the aristocratic pupils where known. It should be noted that all the explicit information is in regard to girls, and it is immediately obvious that the most common instruments learnt were harpsichord or virginals and voice. Many of the girls learnt more than one instrument – it has already been noted that the elder Hope girl was taught harpsichord and probably also violin and singing in London by Keeble; her sister Harriet learnt harpsichord and singing. Lady Grisell Baillie provided instruction in harpsichord, flute, viol, thoroughbass and singing for her daughters. Teachers had to be versatile, and as this newspaper advertisement by Pasquali shows, this musician and his brother could supply most of the amateur market:²⁷

Whereas Signor Pasquali has heard, that it has been often inquired, whether he and his brother are willing to take any Scholars this Winter, and on what terms; This is to inform the Public, that he will teach (at his own Lodgings) on such Terms as are usual in this Country, the following branches of music viz, the Art of SINGING; Playing on the VIOLIN; Playing the THOROUGH BASE and Lessons on the HARPSICHORD, and his Brother Playing on the VIOLINCELLO. He lodges at Mr Coustins in Shoemakers Land, where letters and written messages will be punctually answered

David Johnson has suggested that certain instruments were “female” while others were appropriate to men. Paraphrasing Tobias Smollet, a contemporary commentator on eighteenth-century Scottish culture, Johnson states that “recorder, flute, violin and cello were played only by men”²⁸ while keyboards and viols were learnt mainly by women: in other words, men commandeered all instruments which could be used outwith the home in communal music-making, while females used instruments more suited to solo and domestic use. It will be readily appreciated that the results presented above do not support Johnson’s theory on male and female division of amateur instruments. Even early in the century, “male” instruments were being taught to Grisell and Rachel Baillie, and it appears that at least one of the daughters of Lord Hope learnt to play the violin.

²⁷ The advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 21 and 27 November 1752. This advert is especially interesting in that it also mentions that Pasquali has “some Cremona and other good FIDDLES” to sell. Newspaper advertisements for music teachers are very infrequent, and rarely mention the cost of lessons.

²⁸ D Johnson: *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, p. 24

Figure 4.2 Employment of Music Teachers

| Dates | Teacher | Teacher to: | Subject | Location |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1701-1710 | Henry Crumbden | Grisell Baillie | virginals | Edinburgh, except possibly 1710 |
| 1702-1704 | Jakob Kremberg | Grisell Baillie | singing | Edinburgh |
| 1707 | Sainte- Colome | Grisell Baillie | viol | Edinburgh |
| 1707, 1710 | John Steill | Grisell Baillie | singing | Edinburgh |
| 1711-1712 | Malcolm McGibbon | Rachel Baillie | flute | Edinburgh and Mellerstain |
| 1714 | Robert Yooll | Catherine and Christian Clerk | singing | ? |
| 1718 | Johann Pepusch | Grisell Baillie | harpsichord | London |
| 1719-1721 | Giuseppe Sandoni | Grisell Baillie | harpsichord | London |
| 1748-1751 | John Keeble | Elizabeth Hope | harpsichord, violin | London |
| 1757 | Nicolo Pasquali | Harriet Hope | harpsichord | Edinburgh |
| 1758-1759 | James Bremner | Harriet Hope | harpsichord? | Edinburgh |
| 1759 | Cornforth Gilson | Harriet Hope | singing | Edinburgh |
| 1766 | Arri goni | Wemyss family | ? | London or Edinburgh |
| 1781-85 | Stephen Clarke | Hope family | ? | Ormiston Hall, East Lothian |

4.1.3 Trends in private music education: venues

In the table (p. 119) an indication has been given of where the music instruction occurred. Not surprisingly, the majority of the locations are in Edinburgh and London, and a brief survey of the Mellerstain Household Books confirms that music tuition increased significantly in years which the Baillie family spent partly in one or other of the cities. However, it was obviously not impossible to procure musical tuition in rural areas; as has already been noted, the organist Stephen Clarke evidently was prepared to travel to Ormiston Hall, ten miles east of Edinburgh, to instruct the children of the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun in the later eighteenth century, and both Henry Crumbden and Malcolm McGibbon, teachers to the daughters of Lady Grisell Baillie, were paid in January 1710 and January 1712 in entries explicitly marked "Mellerstain". It may be, of course, that Lady Baillie was late in settling the account, or perhaps she was recording where she actually wrote the accounts, rather than where the tuition took place.

Newspaper advertisements such as the one below suggest that though teachers generally taught in a "school" premise, it was expected that upper class students might wish the teacher to give lessons at the pupil's town house:²⁹

Vocal Music taught by John Fyfe at his school in Stonelaw's Close, who was for a considerable time pupil to the late eminent Mountier; and has given satisfaction to numbers of ladies and gentlemen, who he has had the honour to teach NB He waits on ladies and gentlemen at their houses if required.

Advertisements by teachers of other subjects confirm that this is the norm: Madam Granier, for example,³⁰ ran a dancing school but stated that she would happily attend ladies in their own lodgings, while her husband advertised that he would teach violin to gentlemen in his own home, but would "wait upon any Gentlemen, at their Lodgings, at 15s per month", his usual rate being half a guinea.

²⁹ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 19 February 1756

³⁰ Edinburgh Evening Courant 23 Nov 1752. Similar adverts by teachers generally holding classes in their premises but prepared to attend upper class families at their own house for additional remuneration can be found in the Scots Courant on 27 October 1710 (John Grandpré) and in the Edinburgh Evening Courant on 29 March 1757 (John Graham) and 7 April 1757 (Alexander Gardner).

4.1.4 Lesson fees and frequency of lessons

An attempt has been made to compare the cost of music tuition at different times in the eighteenth century, as shown in figure 4.3 (p. 123), and details of how the *approximate fees per month* have been calculated are detailed below. Where the approximate monthly rate has proved impossible to determine, the highest monthly rate was used to estimate the lesson fee, on the assumption that this was the month in which most lessons were given. To enable comparison, the *approximate fees per month* are all converted to Sterling by dividing the Scots currency fees by 12 (Sterling was worth 12 times as much as Scots; 12s Scots = 1s Sterling).

Evidence in newspaper advertisements for tuition (not necessarily musical) would suggest that ladies and gentlemen were generally attended for one or two hours every week day, giving on average 20 lessons per month³¹. From information³² in the Hopetoun archives it might be conjectured that music teachers too generally gave their pupils four or five lessons a week: Betty Short paid Keeble two guineas every nine or ten days in 1749-51, and lessons cost 5s 3d each (two lessons were given on 9 and 10 July 1751 for 10s 6d – see p. 44), so for two guineas (42 shillings) Lady Betty Hope was receiving 8 lessons, presumably one on each weekday. If an average of 20 lessons per month is assumed for all teachers, it is possible to estimate lesson fees simply by dividing the approximate monthly fee by twenty.

Many entries in the Baillie Household Books provide detailed information on teachers' fees – which are however not without problems. Crumbden, for example, was paid widely differing amounts for no known reason (see table 4.3), and two accounts are ambiguous:

| | | |
|-------------|---|---------|
| 20 Nov 1702 | For a flute £6 a quarter with Crumbin 6 1/2 doll. | £25-1-0 |
| 1707 | To Crumbin for a quarter throwgh bass to Grisie | |
| | 2 guinys | £25-16 |

A comma has presumably been omitted in the first account between £6 and “a quarter” – which means Crumbin was paid £19-1 (ie £25-1 less the £6 for the flute) for three months' lessons, which is in line with other payments. In the second account it seems that Lady Grisell paid £23-14 for the thoroughbass lessons for the quarter, then gave her daughter two guineas (£2-2), and for some reason recorded the two disbursements as one. For each payment a monthly fee was calculated, usually by dividing a quarterly payment (three months) by three. Payments given in dollers were first converted to

³¹ The advertisement by Mr Granier, cited on p.120, states explicitly that gentlemen coming to his home will have 20 lessons per month for their half guinea fee.

³² Cited above, p. 114

shillings by multiplying by 58 – different types of dollar had different values,³³ but it can be calculated that Lady Grisell was using dollars valued at 58s Scots from a payment in May 1702:

To Crumbin Grisies playing master for a quarter past 6 dollars
and a dollar for tuning £20-06

$$\frac{£20 - 06 = 406s}{7 \text{ dollars}} = 58s \text{ per dollar}$$

As the range of monthly payments to Crumbden was so extreme,³⁴ the best monthly figure of £7-18 Scots was used to calculate an approximate lesson fee of 8d. on the assumption that this was the month when Crumbden came closest to giving twenty lessons. It might be conjectured that Crumbden's fee had increased slightly (to 1s per lesson) by 1710 on the evidence of the single payment of 10s for half a month, but the dearth of subsequent payments in sterling render this impossible to ascertain.

The payments by the Baillie family to Sainte-Colombe are confusing (spelling notwithstanding!) For the entry for January 1707 ("For mounthes at the violl to Grisie with Sinckolum £12"), I read four months for the first word (ie £3 Scots per month). However, the second payment to Sainte-Colombe (of £15-03 on June 6 1707 "For 2 mounth to Grisie with St Culume on the vyoll etc") suggests a much higher fee of £7-06 per month; the word "etc" might indicate that music or instrument accessories were included in this bill, giving an inaccurate monthly fee. The higher of the two fees was used as a "best" monthly fee to calculate an approximate lesson fee, on the assumption that most lessons were given in this period.

³³ Tables published in 1827 by the Magistrates and Justices of the City and County of Edinburgh (reproduced in Appendix 4 of R Scott-Moncrieff's edition of the *Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*) give a value of 7s 3d for a dollar and 7s 4d for a rex dollar, which makes the figure of 58s seem inordinately high. 58s is however cited as the value of a rex dollar in the preface (p. xlvii) to *Lauder of Fountainhall's Journals*, Scottish History Society volume 36, edited by D Crawford. Crawford remarks that dollars were light in silver; one wonders if Lady Grisell Baillie intentionally spelt her rex dollars as dollers.

³⁴ The variation in payments is obviously not due to inflation, as the highest monthly payment between 1701 and 1705 occurred in 1701, and there is no sign of a gradual increase.

Figure 4.3 Tuition Fees

| Teacher | Payments made | approx fee per month | Monthly fee converted to Sterling | Approximate lesson fee (Sterling) |
|------------------|---|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Henry Crumbden | 1701: £19-07/quarter; £17-08/quarter | 1701: £5-16 and £6-09 | 13s | 8d |
| | 1702: 6 dollars/quarter; £7-08/month; 6 1/2 dollars/ quarter | 1702: £5-16, £7-08, £6-05 | | |
| | 1703: £19-01/quarter | 1703: £6-07 | | |
| | 1705: £18-07/quarter; £18-17/quarter | 1705: £6-02, £6-05 | | |
| | 1707: £25-16/quarter, including 2 guineas to Grisel (see text for details) | 1707: £7-18 (Scots) | | |
| | 1710: 10s sterling /half a month | £1 sterling | 20s | 1 s |
| Jakob Kremberg | 1702: £14-04 [unknown time], and three payments of £7-08 / month | £7-08 Scots | 12s | 7d |
| | 1704: £7-08/month; £5-03/half a month and a book; £3-14 for unknown time | | | |
| Sainte-Colombe | 1707: £12 for 4 months (see text for details); £15-03 for 2 months (see text for details) | £3 Scots per month and £7-06 Scots per month | 12s | 7d |
| John Steill | 1707: £24 / 2 months 1710: two payments of 12s sterling (unknown time) | £12 Scots per month | £1 | 1 s |
| Malcolm McGibbon | 1711: £1-02 / 2 months and a book; £1 / 2 months 1712: £1-10 / 3 months | 10s Sterling per month | 10s | 6d |

| Teacher | Payments made | approx fee per month | Monthly fee converted to Sterling | Approximate lesson fee (Sterling) |
|------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Robert Yooll | 28/9/1714: £10 Scots / two quarters and a book | c £1-13 per month Scots | 3s | 3d |
| Giuseppe Sandoni | Jan 1719: £12-12 / 4 months; 3 June 1719: £18-18 / 6 months Dec 1721: 6 guineas / (2 months?) | 3 guineas per month | 63s | 3 s |
| Johann Pepusch | Nov 1718: 5 guineas (unknown time) | ? | ? | ? |
| [Harp teacher] | Aug 1718: 3 guineas / month | 3 guineas | 63s | 3 s |
| John Keeble | 1749: £23-02 / 10 months 1750: £31-10 / 15 months 1751: 31/1-8/2: £2-2; 9/2-18/2: £2-2; 19/2-28/2: £2-2; 29/2-9/3: £2-2; 11/3-19/3: £2-2; 20/3-28/3: £2-2; 29/3-23/4: £2-2; 24/4-2/5: £2-2; 3/5- 11/5: £2-2; 13/5-21/5: £2-2; 23/5-31/5: £2-2; 1/6-10/6: £2-2; 11/6- 19/6: £2-2; 20/6-28/6: £2-2; 29/6-8/7: £2-2; 9-10 July: 10s 6d / two lessons | £2-6 2 guineas 6 guineas for 24 lessons | £2-6 £2-2 £6-6 | 5s 3d |
| Nicolo Pasquali | 1757: £1-2-6 / 9 lessons | ? | - | 2s 6d |
| James Brenner | 1758: 30 Jan: £1-1; 20 Feb: £1-1; 13 Mar: £1-1; 8 April £1-1; 24 April £1-1; 7 May £1-1; 20 May £1-1; 2 June £1-1; 18 June £1-1, 24 Nov £3-18-9 for 3 months and 9 lessons 1759: £5-01-6 / 5 months | 28s - 2 guineas per month c £1 Sterling | ? | ? |

| Teacher | Payments made | approx fee per month | Monthly fee converted to Sterling | Approximate lesson fee (Sterling) |
|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Cornforth Gilson | 1759: 6s / 6 lessons | 1s Sterling per lesson | - | 1s |
| Arrigoni | 1766: 6 guineas | ? | ? | ? |
| Stephen Clarke | 6 Feb 1783: £28-16 / 10 months | £2-17 | 57s | ? |
| | 27 Dec 1785: £30-08 / 26 months | £1-03 | 23s | |

£10 Scots was paid to Robert Yooll for teaching the daughters of Sir John Clerk for two quarters, but this fee also covered a book of unknown value, which will have affected the estimated fee. It is interesting to note that the writer of Clerk's account is still using Scots currency by 1714; the Baillie family accounts are all in Sterling from 1710, which is nevertheless not without difficulties as these two payments to John Steill show:

January 1707: To John Steall singing master for 2 mounthes to Grisie £24

Aug 1710: To Mr Steall for Grisie 12s

In the first account Steill was being paid at a rate of £12 Scots per month; as Scots currency was worth a twelfth of Sterling, this was equivalent to £1 Sterling. In 1710 Steill received two payments of 12s Sterling; if it might be assumed that this is for less tuition (perhaps two weeks) then the fees are roughly equivalent – a slight increase of 4s per month from £1 to 24s between 1707 and 1710.

One of the payments to Sandoni is at first sight unclear, but the total of eighteen guineas proves that three payments of 6 guineas were made, presumably each in respect of a two-month period of tuition:

June 3d 1719 Santdony 2 moneth for Grisie 6£ 6s, 6£ 6s, 6£ 6s £18-18

The payments to John Keeble by the Hope family are very confusing - £31-10 was paid in April 1750 for teaching Lady Betty for fifteen months, which works out at 2 guineas per month:

$$£31 - 10 \equiv \frac{630s}{15} = 42s \equiv 2 \text{ guineas}$$

Keeble was also paid £23-2 in 1749 "for 10 months harpsichord" (which works out at £2-06 per month) – but this period of tuition had been covered by the previous payment. A possible explanation for this double payment is that the first bill was not for harpsichord lessons (perhaps violin or singing) and harpsichord tuition for the same period was paid for separately; alternatively, the 1749 bill might have been subsumed into the April 1750 bill. The cost of Keeble's services is easier to calculate in 1750-51, when he was being paid 2 guineas every nine or ten days.

From the monthly payment of 6 guineas in 1751, it can easily be reckoned that Keeble was in fact giving 24 lessons at 5s 3d per lesson each month. If Keeble's lesson fee remained the same from 1749 to 1751, then it must be concluded that Lady Betty was receiving three times as many lessons in 1751 as in the two preceding years when Keeble was only paid 2 guineas per month.

Only two payments were made to Stephen Clark by the Hope family: £28-16 for 10 months' tuition on Feb 6 1783,³⁵ and £30-08 for 26 months' tuition on 27 December 1785³⁶, (along with £80-14 paid to James Robertson for Clark's chaise hire!), from which approximate fees of £1-03 and £2-17 per month can be calculated:

$$£28 - 16 \equiv 575s/10 = 57.5s \approx £2 - 17$$

$$£30 - 08 \equiv 608s/26 = 23.4s \approx £1 - 3$$

Obviously more lessons were given in 1783 than in 1785, but it is not known in either case how many children were being taught. Though Clark only attended the family weekly, he may still have averaged twenty lessons per month if he gave an individual lesson to each of five children; due to the lack of information available and the wide variation in the only two payments to Clark, calculation of an average lesson fee has not been attempted.

The payments to James Bremner by the Hope family are very inconsistent, with the one guinea payments in respect of anything from 13 to 26 days. 1 guinea for two weeks would suggest 2 guineas a month, or roughly 2s per lesson, while a guinea for three weeks works out at 28s a month, or 1s 4d per lesson. Meanwhile, from the payment in 1759 of £5-01-6 for 5 months' tuition, an estimated £1 per month or 1s per lesson can be calculated. Without further information it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the frequency of lessons, but it might tentatively be suggested that the 2 guineas for about 2 weeks is the "best" fee, when most (probably daily) lessons occurred, and the variations in payment periods in 1758 are due to missed lessons.

It will be appreciated that the calculation of approximate fees per month and approximate lesson fees has been problematic. Account book entries have an array of inconsistencies and mis-spellings which can cause confusion; only rarely are we told the length of time covered by each payment and we are never told how often a teacher attended; in addition, teachers received widely variant payments in consecutive months for reasons which can only be guessed at. Insufficient information is available in two cases to estimate lesson fees: Arrigoni, who was employed by the Wemyss family, and Pepusch, who taught the younger Lady Grisell Baillie. Nevertheless, some general trends are observable. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, monthly payments

³⁵ NRAS 888 vol 519

³⁶ NRAS 888 vol 555

varied from 10 to 20s sterling, with most teachers working in Edinburgh being paid 10 or 12 shillings sterling, which works out at about 7d Sterling per lesson (assuming, on the evidence cited above, 20 lessons per month³⁷). Robert Yooll was the exception, apparently receiving only about 3d Sterling per lesson (and this for teaching two pupils), but there is insufficient information on the frequency of lessons to comment on this. Crumbden, Kremberg, Sainte-Colombe and McGibbon, along with the music teacher at Mrs Williamson's school³⁸ were all paid at around 12s Sterling per month, which is enough to suggest a trend.

The cost of music lessons had not increased much in Scotland by the 1750's. Payments to Pasquali, Bremner and Gilson ranged from 1s to 2s 6d per lesson. Fees in England seem to be consistently higher: Keeble apparently received more than double Pasquali's fee per lesson, which may simply be a reflection of this teacher's reputation and prowess. Sandoni too received about 3s per lesson in 1719-21, which is the same as the fee paid to the harp teacher in London in 1718.

4.1.5 Survey of teaching repertoire in eighteenth-century Scotland

A small number of tuition books was published by music teachers mentioned in this chapter and these give useful insights into teaching approaches, as well as illustrating the sort of repertoire to which the children of the landowners would have been exposed. Though books published in England would have become increasingly available as the century progressed, these books by teachers working in Scotland would probably, along with specially compiled manuscripts, have formed the main source of teaching material for an aristocratic beginner in the early eighteenth century.

The majority of the published tuition books were for keyboard instruments, underlining the relative popularity of these as subjects of study for amateurs. Nicolo Pasquali and Robert Bremner, who both taught daughters of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, published books for harpsichord and thorough-bass instruction; a fourth such book was published in London by J F Lampe, who subsequently worked in Scotland for many years:

³⁷ The fact that the lesson fees so calculated are remarkably consistent, both with each other and with known lesson fees (eg Pasquali's) is further proof that the assumption that teachers were giving lessons every week-day is correct.

³⁸ See p. 137 below for details – the un-named teacher was remunerated at a rate of 10s per month in 1709, giving a lesson fee of 6d Sterling.

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Nicolo Pasquali: | <i>Thorough-Bass Made Easy</i> , Edinburgh, 1757 |
| J F Lampe: | <i>Plain and Compendious Method of Teaching Thorough Bass</i> , London, 1740 |
| Robert Bremner: | <i>Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany</i> , Edinburgh, 1761 |
| Nicolo Pasquali: | <i>Art of Fingering the Harpsichord</i> , Edinburgh, 1758 |

From time to time other books were published with didactic titles, such as Tenducci's *Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (Edinburgh, c.1768), but these were ungraded selections of suites and sonatas which could not be classed as instructional – though scarcely less progressive than some of the tuition books discussed below. Both Alexander Malcolm and Johann Friedrich Lampe printed general treatises on music, covering acoustical principles and the basics of harmony, and tutors were published on singing, guitar, and violin:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| J F Lampe: | <i>The Art of Music</i> , London, 1740 |
| Alexander Malcolm: | <i>Treatise of Music, Speculative, Practical, and Historical</i> , Edinburgh, 1721 |
| Cornforth Gilson: | <i>Lessons on the Practice of Singing</i> , Edinburgh, 1759 |
| Robert Bremner: | <i>Instructions for the Guitar</i> , Edinburgh, 1758 |
| Charles Claggett: | <i>Six Duets for Two violins for the Improvement of beginners</i> , Edinburgh, [1760?] |

The teaching methods described in the published instruction books seem to reflect what each master practised. Nicolo Pasquali, who taught Lady Betty Hope, states in the preface to his *Thorough-Bass Made Easy*:

As the following practical Rules have been of considerable use to my own scholars, I think I serve the interest of Musick in general when I make them publick . . .

The full title of Bremner's harpsichord instructor is the *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany, Being a Gradation of Proper Lessons for Beginners to the Tollerable Performer chiefly intended to save Masters the trouble of writing for their pupil*, which again implies that this is the sort of thing Bremner himself supplied for beginners.

The keyboard instruction books are remarkable in that few of them make any concessions to beginners. Many progress very quickly to complicated notation and techniques, without the pages of single hand exercises or easy left hand accompaniments which would be expected in current beginners' material. Robert Bremner's *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany*, which claims to cater for beginners, commences with a page of theory. However, some prior knowledge of notation is

evidently assumed, for after a single page detailing note values, explaining treble, bass and tenor clef notation, the execution of ornaments and the meaning of time signatures, the beginner is expected to proceed to lessons for practising trills, then exercises in note values, (boring rhythmic patterns using crotchets, minims, quavers and dotted notes), which have parts moving simultaneously in both hands and use sharps (without explanation) and compound time! These exercises are followed by a collection of pieces seemingly chosen at random, including *God Save the King*, several minuets, Scottish tunes and sets of variations. There is no progression of material and no allowances made for beginners – Bremner expects inexperienced players to play independent lines in each hand, and read in tenor clef, and in one case cope with crossing the right hand over the left. Though there is some indication of fingering, there are no other hints or performance directions in this publication, nor is there any advice on hand position or posture.

Pasquali aims to address these problems in his *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord*, printed in Edinburgh in 1758, which is the only keyboard tutor which really recognises the needs of a beginner. Posture and arm, hand and finger positions are all discussed in the first pages of the book, and a modern approach to legato fingering by using a combination of five-finger positions is adopted in each piece. The exercises progress from pieces using only one five-finger position in each hand, to those with leaps, and common melodic passages involving broken sixths, paired thirds, scales and sequences. In every example the correct hand position is indicated by dots inserted every time the hand has to move. Different touches are described and exemplified, and a method of tuning a harpsichord is given.

Pasquali, evidently, was a well-informed and progressive teacher, and his dogmatic stance in the preface to the *Art of Fingering* might be excused on the basis of this excellent progression of material:

The kind Reception that my Treatise on Thorough-bass has met with, has encouraged me to publish this Work, which I think is wanted more than the other, as I never could meet with anything published on the subject in any Language. If the prevailing Opinion was true, that every Master has his particular way of Fingering, such a Treatise as this might perhaps be thought needless. But I am apt to believe that this Opinion is not well founded: For, certainly, there is only one best way of doing any Thing; and if it is in this as in every other Affair in Life, which doth not depend upon mere Chance, we may justly conclude, that all good Masters must agree in one and the same way of Fingering.

Later in the century, Corri, in *The Beginning and Practice of Fingering the Harpsichord Consisting of Airs Minuets Marches &c Progressively arranged &*

Adapted by Sigr Domenico Corri, emulated Pasquali's thorough approach. True to its title, the volume does attempt to grade pieces, with 58 pages of progressively harder pieces by Rameau, Handel, Avison, Purcell. etc and a selection of minuets and marches. Some fingerings are indicated in pieces, and all scales are fingered for each hand at the beginning of the book. The importance of automatic scale fingering is stressed in the preface:

It's hardly possible for the Scholar to conceive the advantage, that must be obtain'd by a Constant and long practice of the following SCALES, Yet it is without a doubt the only method by which one can arrive at the proficiency of the Art, whereas the contrary would prove as abortive as learning to read without first becoming acquainted with the alphabet.

Pasquali's treatise *Thorough-Bass Made Easy* (Edinburgh, 1757) was owned by the Monymusk and Hopetoun households and is a comprehensive and on the whole easy-to-follow guide. Most of the initial lessons comprise extended and interesting bass lines which pass through a variety of keys and cadences, with the correct right-hand chords added above; the same exercises are given later in the book without the right hand line, which the beginner is expected to supply correctly.

After lessons on avoiding parallel fifths and sets of examples of common cadences, Pasquali gives guidelines on the stylish accompanying of recitatives and instrumental sonatas, advising the student against playing too many chords and moving around the keyboard excessively. Though most of the tutor is thorough and easily comprehended, Pasquali's recapitulation of the twelve common chords is clumsy and difficult to understand:

The common chord consists of a 3[r]d, 5th and octave
 The chord of the 2[n]d consists of the common chord of the note above
 The chord of the 4th and 6th consists of the common chord of the 4th above
 The chord of the 6th consists of the common chord of the 3rd below
 The chord of the 7th consists of the common chord with the 7th added
 The chord of the 5th and 6th consists of the common chord with the 6th added
 The chord of the 9th consists of the common chord with the octave advanced one note
 The chord of the 4th consists of the common chord with the 3d advanced one note
 The chord of the 2[n]d, 4th and 6th consists of the common chord of the note below
 Chord of the 3[r]d, 4th and 6th)
 Chord of the 4th, 5th and 9th) → to be counted from the bass
 Chord of the 3d, 7th and 9th)

This table of rules is studiously avoided by Johann Friedrich Lampe, another well-known teacher working in Scotland, in his *Plain and compendious Method of Teaching Thorough Bass*, which was published in London in 1737. He teaches logically,

instructing learners how to count from the bass note to supply the correct chord, and explaining intervals, tones, semitones and scale structures at great length. However, there is nothing to play for the first seventeen pages, and the sheer volume of explanation, though helpful, must have been daunting for Lampe's younger students. Like Pasquali, Lampe teaches by supplying many examples of correct right hand chords for given figured basses, illustrating good chord-linking, the avoidance of parallel fifths and octaves, and later demonstrating how the student may embellish the bass line with passing notes. Lampe's book is more of a reference work and he never progresses to examples of figured basses for students to work out unaided.

The keyboard instruction volumes are a very mixed bag. Pasquali's books, though thorough in establishing theory and technique, are somewhat boring, and the exercises he gives are, on the whole, not musically stimulating. The tutors by Lampe and Bremner are more haphazard in approach, especially in establishing hand and finger position; they show little understanding of the learning processes of the young and inexperienced players at which they are aimed.

Only two manuals for string instruments were published in Scotland. Bremner's *Instructions for the Guitar* (1758) has a preface on rhythmic values, time signatures and ornaments similar to the one in the *Harpsichord Miscellany*. The guitar tutor at least attempts to address the problem of holding the instrument, though the lack of any diagram or picture makes the advice, especially on right hand position, difficult to comprehend. The early lessons are all on open strings, using a variety of rhythms and accustoming the beginner to notation of the six notes; Bremner justifies his cautious approach thus:

The anxious learner will no doubt think it unreasonable to be so long detained without a tune; but let such be assured, that beginning to learn any instrument with tunes, particularly known ones, is generally the greatest hinderance they can meet with; for their eagerness to learn these tunes makes them break through every rule and method the industrious teacher has been labouring to communicate . . .

The guitar tutor is rather more thorough than Bremner's harpsichord book and progresses through pages of instruction on rests, bars, sharps, flats and tuning the guitar before the quantum leap to a collection of mainly traditional tunes using single notes and chords, including the *Birks of Endermay* and *The Bush aboon Traquair*.

A second tuition book for string instruments was published at about the same time (c. 1760) in Scotland. Charles Claggett published *Six Duets for Two violins for the Improvement of beginners*, but due to the unavailability of the copy in Glasgow University, it was not possible for this work to be consulted.

Cornforth Gilson's *Lessons on the Practice of Singing* (Edinburgh, 1759) also seems to have sold well.³⁹ The normal table of rhythmic values and a complicated description of clefs - three treble, "the Gsolreut, and the other two the Csolfaut on the first and second lines" - is followed by lessons on singing scales, then on singing melodic thirds, fourths and fifths. After five pages of exercises on singing different intervals the beginner is presented with a collection of catches, canons, church tunes and airs "for the improvement of the beginner". One of the most useful pages for the historian is an example of a tune with appropriate ornamentation for church performance and for secular vocal music. Sol-fa symbols occur occasionally in the initial exercises, but Gilson does not explain the system, nor is there any discussion of breathing, diction or tone production, which might be because the publication was intended mainly for use by Gilson's team of teachers of church music.

Surviving among the archives of some of the families under survey are manuscript collections of music which appear to have been compiled as teaching material.⁴⁰ These indicate a rather more active approach by the teacher: the repertoire in the didactic manuscripts was tailored to the individual pupil's needs and interests, and the teacher had to select and procure painstakingly, rather than simply progress to the next page of a printed tutor book. The manuscripts I have seen contain a huge variety of repertoire, often for several instruments and voice, and from the random arrangement it seems that teacher and pupil moved from one subject to the next as the fancy took them.

A fine example of a teaching manuscript of the period is a recent acquisition in the National Library of Scotland, MS Acc 11420, full details of which are given in Appendix 4. There are actually three manuscripts, the third of which bears the signature of Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock (her picture, as a young girl playing a mandolin, is reproduced in Chapter 2 of this work). The Kilravock provenance is confirmed by the presence of several tunes with a family connection (for example, *Eleza Rose her Reel* is the first piece in ms no.1).

The second manuscript also bears a Rose signature on the endpaper: the initial is difficult to decipher, but is probably "H" for Hugh, the name of the 16th, 17th and 18th barons. This manuscript contains violin parts for Concerti Grossi by Corelli and

³⁹ Farmer says, without further reference or proof, that this book had "considerable sales in its day", *History of Music*, p. 328

⁴⁰ Evidence that the manuscripts in question were didactic include titles and signatures (eg "Mary Grant her music book"), instructions for reading clefs and tuning instruments, scribbles in amateur hands, many "exercises" and "lessons".

Avison, solo violin pieces by Giordani, Agus, Oswald and Stanley, and duets by Defesch, Samartini and James Gerrard. There are a few keyboard pieces and songs towards the rear of this book, but clearly this collection was commissioned by a competent violinist.

The first and third of the three manuscripts are more interesting from a didactic viewpoint. MS Acc 11420 (1) contains mostly keyboard pieces: dance pieces by Handel, Stanley and Felton, plus keyboard reductions of the overtures from two symphonies by the Earl of Kelly. But the owner, Elizabeth Rose, daughter of the 17th Baron, was also learning guitar, and the manuscript contains five lessons for guitar by the Edinburgh singing teacher Cornforth Gilson and several songs with guitar accompaniments. Additionally there are arias from contemporary London operas: the pasticcio *Love in A Village*, Arne's *Comus* and Carey's *Contrivances*, and a violin solo by Abel. This manuscript also includes scribbled directions for reading in "c" clefs and instructions for tuning a harpsichord. The third manuscript (NLS MS Acc 11420 no 3) has directions for playing from thorough bass (basic chord formation and inversions) and pieces for practising this, another collection of keyboard lessons, sonatas and concertos, reductions of symphonies and overtures and songs from well-known operas.⁴¹

The bulk of the first and third manuscripts is copied in a single hand; though there are similarities in the execution of certain characters it seems that the main scribe is not the same for both books. The main scribe of each volume was probably Elizabeth Rose's teacher at the time (or was appointed to copy by the teacher). The identities of the main scribes are difficult to ascertain in the absence of family accounts, but the inclusion of pieces by Cornforth Gilson and Leonardo Pescatore, both of whom were working in Edinburgh at the time, and whose music would have circulated mainly in manuscript locally, would suggest that the books might be of Edinburgh provenance. The symphonies by the 6th Earl of Kelly would have been easily accessible, as the Earl lived in Edinburgh from 1756, and several manuscripts from Kilravock Castle are invaluable sources of his works.⁴²

This repertoire of keyboard reductions and songs from operas is typical of other manuscripts which seem to have been teaching books. NLS MS Acc 11020. "Mary

⁴¹ Many of the songs have a texted treble clef line and an unfigured bass line, and the performer would have improvised a right hand accompaniment – the final piece in Bremner's *Harpsichord Miscellany* gives an example of the sort of accompaniment normally added.

Grant's Music Book"⁴³ also dates from the 1760's and contains "gamuts" for the spinnet, keyboard suites, Scottish reels and strathspeys, marches and arias from operas, minuets and other dance pieces for keyboard by Sammartini and others, and a copy of the C major symphony, op 1, by the Earl of Kelly. "Lady Charlotte Murray's" manuscript at Blair Castle is of the same date, and includes directions for playing chords from figured bass plus Scottish and popular tunes for keyboard (including the overture to Piccini's *La Buona Figliuola*, sonatas by Pasquali, songs from Arne's *Artaxerxes* and a concerto by Stamitz).

⁴² See Appendix 7 for sources of the Earl of Kelly's music.

⁴³ This is probably the daughter of the 2nd Baronet of Monymusk, or perhaps the wife of the 3rd Baronet.

4.2 Music in Educational Establishments: Part of the Curriculum?

Beyond elementary reading and writing, upper class girls tended to receive little instruction in academic subjects. In his *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*⁴⁴ (which was reprinted seven times in English translation between 1707 and 1797, and evidently was very popular), Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon proposed that upper class girls ought to learn the “advantages of a plain and easy life” without dabbling in mathematical sciences, politics or trifling pleasures (which included music).

Some daughters of landowners were sent to finishing schools, and the subjects taught at these girls’ schools reflect Fenelon’s advice, focusing mainly on homely pursuits such as japanning, pastry-making and sewing seams. Among the Grant of Monymusk archives is an advertisement for one such girls’ school in Aberdeen,⁴⁵ Mrs Grant’s school, to which Sir Archibald Grant considered sending his daughters in 1759. Subjects taught there were “gumflowers, white seam, samplers, shell work, gauz worke, chear bottoms, frinch songs, painting glass”. Other subjects, including music, were optional, and Mrs Grant would have hired masters for these according to demand:

for writting at the Best writting school 10/6 at the comon school 2/6 pr
quarter
for Danceing £1:1 and 3/ to the musick, to be teached musick 5/pr quarter.

Mrs Gibson, who advertised her ladies’ school in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 13 October 1757, ran a similar establishment:

... with a large room to be allotted for proper masters to come in to teach
reading, writing, musick and dancing, which is to be after the London form,
which will prevent the ladies from catching cold and losing their time, by
going from school to school.

Mrs Gibson intended to teach the following lessons herself: needlework, japanning, painting, pastry and pickling.

Musical instruction was evidently considered an important part of the education of one of the daughters of Hugh Rose of Kilravock, who attended a finishing school in Edinburgh at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Instruction in two instruments and singing was provided:

⁴⁴ English translation by George Hicks, 1707; first Scottish edition published in Edinburgh, 1750

⁴⁵ GD 345/900

Sept 2 1700. Accompt the Laird of Kilraick for his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Rose, for her board and education to Elisabeth Stratoun⁴⁶

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Imp ^r , one quarter board, from the 2d September to the 2d Decr. | 60-0-0 |
| Item, Dancing, One Quarter, | 14-10-0 |
| Item, one quarter Singing & playing & Virginalls | 11-12-0 |
| Wee having two masters for playing, I payed a dollar more to the second then the first | |
| Item one quarter at wryting | 06-00-00 |
| Item for five writting books | 01-00-00 |
| Item for Satinge Seam and silk to her Satine Seame | 06-00-00 |
| Item one Sett of wax fruits | 06-00-00 |
| Item one looking glass that she broke | 04-16-00 |
| Item a frame for a Satine Seam | 01-10-00 |
| Item 12 elns of linnen for smoaks to her at 12 Shilling p ^r eln | 07-04-00 |
| Item one quarter at wryting which I payed befor she entered a boarder from the 2 nd dec ^r 1699 to 2 ^d March 1700 | 06-00-00 |
| Item a glass for her Sattine Seam | <u>01-04-00</u> |
| | £125-16-00 |

The musical instruction cost a meagre £11-12 (Scots) for three months - but this sum is a sixth of the total bill (excluding £60 board), and far more than the amount disbursed on writing.

The Atholl family also sent female children to school in Edinburgh. There was some debate as to which school Lady Susan should be sent in 1710, and the possibility of including music in the curriculum was probably important. Her father finally chose Mrs Douglas' school, but Lady Susan's grandmother, the Duchess of Hamilton, disapproved, remarking that she was only learning dancing and writing at this school, while she might have learnt other things at Mrs Williamson's school.⁴⁷ Jean Maule, daughter of Harie Maule of Kellie and niece of the the 4th Earl of Panmure, attended Mrs Williamson's school from 1709-12,⁴⁸ and music lessons account for around half of the total expenditure. Lady Jean was taught the virginalls by an un-named teacher, and in 1710-11 this was at a cost of 10s (Sterling) per month.

For many upper class girls, education was much less formal and mainly through private tuition at home by visiting teachers, along with very important instruction in running a household by the domestic staff and the lady of the house. Tutors were sometimes employed specifically to teach girls. May Menzies was employed by Lady Grisell Baillie as a governess to her two daughters in 1705; Grisell was then aged thirteen and Rachel was nine, but masters of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, dancing and

⁴⁶ GD 125/31/2

⁴⁷ NRAS 234 box 45 bundle 9 no 1 (Duchess of Hamilton to Duke of Atholl, 2 Jan 1710)

⁴⁸ GD 45/18/1332

music had been engaged since 1696. The importance of music in the curriculum for young Grisell is obvious from this letter of August 16 1705:

Directions for Grisie given May Menzies

To rise by seven a clock and goe about her duty of reading, etc. etc., and be drest to come to Breckfast at nine, to play on the spinnet [sic] till eleven, from eleven till twelve to write and read French. At two a clock sow her seam till four, at four learn arithmetic, after that dance and play on the spinet again till six and play herself till supper and to bed at nine⁴⁹.

When the daughters of the 1st Duke of Atholl were sent to live with their grandmother, the Duchess of Hamilton, after their mother's death, a local writing master was employed specifically to teach Lady Susan, then aged eight.⁵⁰ The daughters of the 1st and 2nd Baronets of Penicuik were also included in their brothers' lessons: John Pow, schoolmaster, received fees for "John, Henry, William, Barbara, Sophia and Alexander Clerk" from the 1st Baronet in 1690 and 1692, and the 2nd Baronet employed William Grainger in 1723-7 to "teach the Ladys to write" and again in 1735 "for teaching Mr Henry, Ms Jeany, Ms Dolly, Ms Joan".⁵¹

Education for the male children of landowning families in eighteenth-century Scotland also often began at home under the care of a governor or tutor. The sons of the Earl of Tullibardine (latterly the 1st Duke of Atholl) were instructed by tutors, John Mitchell⁵² and Thomas Fleming,⁵³ in the first decade of the eighteenth century. James McLellane was employed to tutor the sons of Harie Maule of Panmure at the same time.⁵⁴ Later in the eighteenth century John Richie was engaged to teach the eldest sons of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun⁵⁵ and Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk employed the well-known writing master David Young to instruct his sons in 1745.⁵⁶ Most families engaged tutors or governors when boys reached the age of six or seven, to teach reading and writing of English and Latin. John Mitchell provides more information on the heavy curriculum followed by the sons of the Duke of Atholl (ages 7 - 13) in 1702:⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Introduction to the *Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie*, edited by R Scott-Moncrieff p. xlvii

⁵⁰ NRAS 234 box 45 bundle 7 no 33

⁵¹ all GD 18/2178 - education accounts

⁵² NRAS 234 box 45 bundle 2 no 187, letter from tutor 21 Sept 1702

⁵³ *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* vol 1, p. 484, letter from governor, 1701

⁵⁴ GD 45/18/1332 (receipts date from 1709-1711)

⁵⁵ Hopetoun Research Group Studies: *300 Years of Educating the Hopes* p. 32. He was employed 1746-56 (Charles was born 1740, James 1741, John 1743, William 1749). Robert Scott was tutor to Henry Hope from 1761 to 1769 (*300 years . . .* p. 44) and William Dundas was tutor to sons of the first Earl of Hopetoun from 1717.

⁵⁶ GD 345/900

⁵⁷ NRAS 234 box 45 bundle 2 no 187

The boys “advance pretty well in their authors, Erasmus & Ovid’s Metamorphosis, but they weary much in their grammar”

The sons of several of the families under survey in this work were later sent to the local secondary school. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik sent his sons James and George to the Grammar School in Dalkeith in 1727 and 1728, and twins Henry and Patrick (born 1718) followed in 1731-3.⁵⁸ A generation earlier, money had been paid in 1684-85 to Alex Strauchen, precentor of Penicuik, for John Clerk’s own board, quarter and ink.⁵⁹ The 1st Duke of Atholl, perhaps feeling that the boys were not making satisfactory progress under their governor at home, made similar arrangements for his sons Charles and George to attend the school in Perth from 1705.⁶⁰

After the Act of Union, English schooling was seen to be of enormous benefit to Scottish landowners, who were anxious to be accepted as British by the English landed classes, and to dispel the backward, provincial Scottish image. The eldest sons of both the Atholl and Penicuik families were sent to Eton for their education⁶¹ – in his *Memoirs* Sir John Clerk justifies his decision to send John south thus:

I thought it would be an additional qualification to him [John] that he understood the English language, which since the Union wou’d always be necessary for a Scotsman in whatever station of life he might be in, but especially in any publick character.⁶²

Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk’s son was also educated in England, attending Watt’s Academy in London in 1731,⁶³ though this may have been a matter of convenience rather than preference, as Sir Archibald resided in England while fulfilling his parliamentary duties.

Among the families under survey in this work, there are only a very few examples of boys receiving even basic instruction in music as part of a school curriculum. The sons of Sir Archibald Grant presumably had music lessons when they were given a violin and a flute in 1731,⁶⁴ but there is no documentation of this in the family accounts. Two sons of the 2nd Baronet of Penicuik, Patrick and Henry Clerk, were taught to sing church tunes at school in Dalkeith in 1731,⁶⁵ and two payments (6 guineas and 4

⁵⁸ GD 18/2178

⁵⁹ GD 18/2178

⁶⁰ NRAS 234 box 45 bundle 5 letters 72 and 80; *Chronicles* vol 2 p. 72 (letter from Charles, 1707) and p. 118 (letter from George, March 1710)

⁶¹ Lord John Murray, 1744: NRAS 234 box 51.II.D no 1; Lord John Clerk, 1715-19: GD18/2221

⁶² *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, ed John Gray, p. 86

⁶³ *A True and Exact Inventory of . . . lands . . . goods etc possessed by Sir Archibald Grant on 1st January 1730*, pub London, 1732, p. 21

⁶⁴ GD 345/928

⁶⁵ GD 18/2178

guineas) were made by the 2nd Duke of Atholl to a music master while Lord John Murray was at school in London in 1740.⁶⁶ From a statement in his *Memoirs* it is evident that Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik, had been taught violin and harpsichord as a child:

[At Leyden] I boarded in the house of a learned German, who taught privately Mathematiks, Phyilosophy, and Musick . . . I applied my self very closely to all the three studies. In the last I was a kind of proficient even before I came to Leyden, for I playd tollerably well on the Harpsecord, and since I was 7 years of age I touched the Violin a little⁶⁷

However, there is no evidence of this musical instruction in the surviving Clerk family accounts for the 1680's and 1690's, and in general, evidence for boys' musical education is scarce in the archives surveyed. The many accounts which survive for music instruction were documented in the first section of this chapter, and it is significant that these are almost entirely with reference to girls. The scarcity of references to boys' musical education in the archives surveyed is surprising. After all, since men were the mainstay of all public and communal musical activities in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, it is not unreasonable to assume that music should be a prominent part of their education too.

It may be simply that relevant documents have not survived, and there are admittedly no systematic account books extant for the Clerk, Maule and Grant families, all of whom possibly employed music teachers for male children. In three instances it is difficult to know whether boys were implicated too in the musical education, due to the sparseness of data in the Wemyss, Clerk and Hope account books; the music masters employed (or possibly employed) by Sir John Clerk (Sharreter, 1734), the Earl of Wemyss (Arrigoni) and the Earl of Hopetoun (Stephen Clarke) may have been engaged to teach all the children, regardless of gender, but there is no explicit evidence for this. The small number of male children involved in the survey may likewise be a factor in the apparent bias against the musical education of boys, and perhaps a very different picture would have emerged if Lady Grisell Baillie's son Robert had survived past infancy, or if Lord Colville of Ochiltree had had a son.

At any rate, boys seem frequently to have benefitted from musical instruction at a later age, often when they left home to undertake a Grand Tour of Europe or to attend university. Older sons of the landowners in this survey generally proceeded to

⁶⁶ NRAS 234 box 51. The wording of the account is ambiguous and it is not definite that this master was employed to teach Lord John.

⁶⁷ *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, p. 15

university around the age of fourteen, before completing their education with a spell of study and travel in the low countries, Italy or France. Lord John Murray had the opportunity to travel in Holland before proceeding to Göttingen University in 1751⁶⁸ and his father George had attended Glasgow University in 1711.⁶⁹ Two other sons of the 1st Duke of Atholl completed their education at St Andrews University in 1705-6 (aged 15 and 16)⁷⁰ where they had singing lessons.⁷¹ Lords John and Charles Hope both completed their education with a foreign tour, and most of the sons of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun also enjoyed a Grand Tour.⁷² John Clerk, future 2nd Baronet of Penicuik went to Glasgow University in 1692⁷³ (aged 16) then to Leiden University in 1694.

⁶⁸ *Chronicles* vol 3 p 402

⁶⁹ *Chronicles* vol 2 p 135

⁷⁰ NRAS 234 box 42.III (1)

⁷¹ NRAS 234 box 42.III (1705-6)

⁷² Hopetoun Research Group Studies: *300 Years of Educating the Hopes* pp. 22-6, 46-64, 78-97

⁷³ GD 18/5190-5 and 2298

Figure 4.4 The Education System

| Approximate age | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|--|--------------|
| | 6 or 7 | 12 | 15 | 18 |
| boys | Tutor or Governor | Grammar School | University (or career, eg military) | Foreign Tour |
| girls | Tutor or Governor | | finishing school | |

4.3 Musical Significance of the Grand Tour

A tour of Europe was seen as an essential part of a young gentleman's education, as Lord Shaftesbury suggests in his argument with Mr Locke:⁷⁴

And is not travelling then one of the best of those methods, which can be taken to polish and form the manners of our liberal youth, and to fit them for the business and conversation of the world?

According to Shaftesbury, on the Grand Tour youths were supposed to lose their intimidation of gentlemen, develop a gentlemanly demeanour from exercises and learn to take part in polite conversation.⁷⁵ Such accomplishments were seen as more than mere diversions or niceties, but were regarded by landowners as indications of good breeding and high social status – and as such were expensive but necessary in the upbringing of sons.⁷⁶ Certainly the foreign tour undertaken by the sons of the 2nd Earl of Panmure seems to have been effective, if the tribute by a family friend in a letter of October 1680 to George, 3rd Earl is to be believed:⁷⁷

I had the honor to be sometyms in company with your lo[rds]h[ips] Brother since their coming. They are two excellent Gentlemen and have improven their tyme abroad very weelee And it appear now that they weelee deserve the charracter given them by these who converse with them in France

These two young men were sent to France in 1677 to 1680 and their itinerary can be traced through bills and also in a *Coppy of a short account of the Life of James Earle of Panmure done by himself*.⁷⁸ Music was evidently a frequent diversion while the young men were abroad, as this extract from James' diary shows:

after having finishd his course at the Colledge he went to France the end of the year 1677 & resided at Angers a toune situated nigh the River Loyer where he apply'd himself to the studying of the French Langue and the civiellaw, & allso to learn dansing, fencing & musick which last he allways loved much . . .

From bills and letters⁷⁹ it can be deduced that James' brother Harie went to Angers in July 1678 (having spent some time in Paris), and the two returned to Paris in August 1678, travelling via Saumur, Tours, Amboise, Blois and Orleans.⁸⁰ At Paris James

⁷⁴ *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education in the Year MDCC between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Locke*, pub London 1764, p. 8. Author is not stated but known to be Richard Hurd.

⁷⁵ Hurd: *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel*, p. 45

⁷⁶ R Marshall explores this aspect of the education of the heirs in the Hamilton family in her book *The Days of Duchess Anne*, Chapter 6. See especially p. 134

⁷⁷ GD 45/14/171

⁷⁸ NLS MS 17804

⁷⁹ GD 45/18/1316 and GD 45/14/315

⁸⁰ This information is given in the *Short Account* of James' Maule's life, cited above.

continued to study French and civil law, and “did his exercises of ryding the great horse fencing, dancing & allso learned musick & took frequently the diversion of comedies and operas”.⁸¹ The brothers returned to Scotland in 1680, and the account for freight of a case of viols from Paris to Leith is among the family archives in the Scottish Record Office.⁸² Though the bill was settled by Harie, James Maule states in his account of his life that he played “on the Bass viol de Gambo, at which he was thought a good proficient, being with the best master he was reckoned on [sic] of his best scholars”.⁸³ The major (and most important) part of the Maule family’s music collection was a set of manuscripts of French viol music and music from current French operas⁸⁴ which was brought back by the brothers after their Grand Tour. There were ten manuscripts of French viol music dating from the late seventeenth century in the Panmure collection which include many unique pieces by Marais and Sainte-Colombe.⁸⁵ The inclusion particularly of pieces by Sainte-Colombe, whose music was neither circulated nor published during his lifetime, suggests that James Maule had a personal connection with the composer (probably as his pupil, as the *Short Account of His Life* implies).

When John Clerk, son of the 1st Baronet of Penicuik, went to the University of Leiden in 1694 to study law, he took every opportunity for musical development:

I applied my self in my leisure hours to the study of Musick, under the same Z(?) who taught me the speculative part thereof according to the mathematical rules, and the practical part upon the Harpsicord. In both these I made, perhaps, more advance than became a Gentleman⁸⁶

The name of his music teacher is indistinct in the *Travels* but from correspondence in the National Archives of Scotland,⁸⁷ it can be ascertained that the teacher was Lothemus Zumbach, about whom biographical information is sparse, but who is thought to have directed concerts in the Leiden Academiegebouw, according to Peter Davidson.⁸⁸

⁸¹ NLS MS 17804

⁸² GD 45/18/1316

⁸³ NLS MS 17804

⁸⁴ Full details are given in Chapter 5 of this work, pp. 161-3.

⁸⁵ National Library of Scotland mss 9468-9 contain 111 bass viol pieces, none of which are attributed to Sainte-Colombe in the manuscripts; the music was identified and published in 1973 by Paul Hooreman. Thirteen of the pieces were found to be solo arrangements of pieces in the only other surviving source of St Colombe’s music (a manuscript in The French Bibliotheque Nationale entitled *Concerts a Deux Violes Esgales*).

⁸⁶ This is quoted as a footnote to the *Memoirs* p. 15, and comes from a manuscript travel journal which was destroyed in the Penicuik House fire of 1899.

⁸⁷ GD 18/5202

⁸⁸ P Davidson: “Leo Scotiae Irritatus: Herman Boerhaave and John Clerk of Penicuik” in *The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as a Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. C C Barfoote and Richard Todd, p. 160

In 1697 Clerk proceeded to Italy (much against his father's will) where his musical development continued under the tutelage of Bassani and Pasquini.⁸⁹ The highlight of Clerk's continental tour was probably being admitted to study with Corelli and, under the master's influence, to have had one of his compositions (*Odo di Mesto Intorno*) performed for Cardinal Ottoboni, the well-known patron of Roman music.⁹⁰

It is interesting that Clerk found his previous musical experience in Scotland to be impoverished in comparison to the accomplishments of his new continental friends, and he evidently quickly set about rectifying what he saw as a deficiency in his education:

As I found that there was no keeping of good and verteous company in either Holand, France, or Italy, and far less in Germany, without as much of the practise of musick as to enable one to bear a part in a Concert, I bestowed a great deal of pains on the Harpsicord, and in a year after was as well qualified to perform my part on that instrument as any Gentleman in Holand. I found that this piece of skill was indeed of great use to me afterwards in the course of my Travels through Germany, Italy, and France⁹¹

Even by 1753 the young Thomas Erskine, future 6th Earl of Kelly, was to discover that Scottish musical standards still lagged behind developments in continental Europe. The famous eighteenth-century music historian Charles Burney reports that (according to the violinist Pinto) Kelly:

could scarcely tune his fiddle . . . before he travelled into Germany, [but he] shut himself up at Manheim with the elder Stamitz, and studied composition and practised the violin with such serious application, that, at his return to England, there was no part of theoretical or practical Music, in which he was not equally versed with the greatest professors of his time⁹²

Other Scottish travellers for whom musical instruction was procured abroad include the future 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, who had clavecin lessons while on his Grand Tour in 1724.⁹³ The eldest son of Hugh Rose, 17th Baron of Kilravock, is reputed to have studied violin abroad,⁹⁴ and Lord Colville of Ochiltree may also have studied music abroad, though the dearth of biographical information makes this difficult to confirm.

⁸⁹ I G Brown: *Sir John Clerk (1676-1755): Aspects of A Virtuoso Life*. PhD Cambridge, 1980, pp. 81-2, also letters in Scottish Record Office. Brown lists Bottoni among Clerk's musical contacts in Italy, but I have found no musician of this name (or similar) in standard reference works (RISM, Grove), and Bottoni may in fact be the renowned artist Battoni.

⁹⁰ The frontispiece of the manuscript (GD18/4537) is inscribed: "This cantata was made by me at the Duke of Bedfoordsdesaire. The poesie was made by one of his servants an Italian, & performed by Correlli, & other musitians befor his grace & many of the Roman nobility. Rome. Jo: Clerk 1698"

⁹¹ *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik* p. 15

⁹² C Burney: *A General History of Music* volume 4, p. 677

⁹³ NRAS 888 bundle 1657

⁹⁴ This is asserted in a guidebook to Kilravock Castle (p. 15), entitled *History of the Roses of Kilravock*, written by the 25th Baroness.

John Westwood, author of a local history book, states that, “Lord Colville who was a batchelor and owned the estate, spent little time at the Tower [Cleish Castle]. He travelled to Italy where he studied music. He was deemed an accomplished player of the organ and harpsicord . . .”⁹⁵ This is reiterated by Farmer,⁹⁶ but neither author cites a source for the information. Colville certainly somehow acquired the most up-to-date Italian music, along with manuscript copies of works by little-known composers such as Reincken which were almost certainly copied abroad (see Chapter 5 for full details of Colville’s music collection). The collection of foreign imprints and manuscripts forces the conclusion that Colville did indeed spend some time abroad, and experienced modern Italian music which he then procured and brought back to Scotland.

George Skene, 17th laird of Skene and Lord Rector of Marischal College in Aberdeen from 1737-1745, owned a collection of music which is listed in a *Catalogue of Books belonging to George Skene of Skene, being a Collection of valuable books in most Arts and Sciences, Aberdeen, June 14th 1731*.⁹⁷ Skene’s taste was almost exclusively Italianate: his music collection consisted mainly of sonatas and concertos by Corelli, Albinoni, Barsanti, Vivaldi and Geminiani. Of the few works not by Italian composers, the majority are in Italianate style – for example, twenty-seven overtures by Handel, along with three complete operas and a collection of songs from operas by Handel, Bononcini and others, and concertos by Festing and Babell. No information on the acquisition of the music collection has been found among the Skene manuscripts at Aberdeen University,⁹⁸ and it can only be conjectured that George Skene may have developed a taste for Italian music while on a continental tour, and, like Colville, brought copies of the music he enjoyed back to Scotland.

Music historians have recently begun to explore the effect of continental travel on the development of musical taste in eighteenth-century England, and it has been proposed that the vogue for Italian opera was directly linked to the foreign travel undertaken by young gentry. Elizabeth Gibson, for example, in her work on the directors of the Royal Academy of Music (a London company formed to produce Italian operas), frequently cites examples of young aristocrats who “had the opportunity to develop their taste for

⁹⁵ J Westwood: *That Portion of Scotland*, p. 148

⁹⁶ H G Farmer: *A History of Music in Scotland*, p. 330

⁹⁷ Aberdeen University MS 3175 v746

⁹⁸ Richard Turbet reports on copious enquiries to locate the music collection, and on his failure to discover information on the accumulation of the library, in his paper, “The Music Collection of a Scottish Laird: George Skene of Skene, 1731” in *Brio* vol 32 no 1 pp. 24-27

Italian opera during extended or repeated visits to that country”.⁹⁹ Kirby also credits the artistic developments in England and other countries to the contact with Italy, noting that the Grand Tour had “a profound effect not only on the individual, but . . . it was a chief cause of the altered tastes of England and other eighteenth century nations”.¹⁰⁰

It seems likely that a similar phenomenon was occurring in Scotland in the early years of the eighteenth century. During their time abroad, the young men were exposed to a range of musical experiences, most of which were unheard of in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They attended operas¹⁰¹ and orchestral concerts, and they became acquainted with music in the most up-to-date baroque styles by esteemed continental composers. Many of the sons of the landowners under survey had music lessons from continental masters and acquired and imported collections of music for which they had developed such enjoyment. On their return they created an expectant market for high-standard European art music in Scotland, and their knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, the strong harmonic basis and pseudo-vocal melodies of the new Italian style was arguably the catalyst which led to the embracing of the Italianate in all aspects of Scotland’s musical development. Though opportunities for musical development in Scotland in the early eighteenth-century seem to have been biased towards girls, the male children of the landowners under survey would appear to have benefitted from a wider musical experience abroad at a later age. The musical experience of the sons of landowners on the Grand Tour had significant consequences for Scotland’s musical development, which are discussed fully in the final chapter of this work.

⁹⁹ E Gibson: “The Royal Academy of Music and Its Directors” in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed S Sadie and A Hicks, p. 146; see also pp. 141 and 143. In her doctoral thesis: *Italian Opera-going in London, 1700-1745*, PhD, Syracuse, 1991, pp. 71-2, Carole Taylor discusses the high proportion of subscribers to the Italian opera companies in London who had undertaken the Grand Tour, which Taylor says is “a likely source of their deeper interest in opera”. Jeremy Black, however, suggests that British tourists on the whole were very critical of continental opera performances because they already were familiar with a high standard of execution in London, in *The British Abroad*, Chapter 12.

¹⁰⁰ P F Kirby: *The Grand Tour in Italy (1700-1800)*, p. xiii (preface)

¹⁰¹ For example, Lord Charles Hope’s attendance at the first performance of an opera by Traetta in Vienna is discussed on p. 73 above. James Maule attended operas at Bologna and Pesaro (see p. 206 of this work – ch 5), and also five opera performances in Venice in 1717, detailed in a travel journal kept by Dr Blair, GD 45/26/74. The Baillie family attended operas in Naples, Bologna, Paris and Turin in 1731-33 (2nd *Household Book*).

4.4 Landowners as Patrons of Music Teachers

The evidence presented above for the musical advancement of young men abroad leads to the conclusion that the landowners under survey were not themselves active supporters of music teachers in Scotland. Instead their sons were apparently the patrons, taking every opportunity for musical advancement whilst on the Grand Tour – opportunities which they seem not to have had as boys at home. A mere three instances of boys receiving music lessons in Scotland are confirmed by family accounts (Patrick and Henry Clerk were taught church tunes in 1731, the sons of the 1st Duke of Atholl had singing lessons in 1705, and Lord Hope had clavesin lessons in 1724).

In contrast, copious accounts are extant for the musical education of the daughters of six of the nine families under survey in this work. In monetary terms, music was an important part of the education of girls: the extant education accounts for the Hope, Baillie, Rose and Maule families suggest that between a sixth and a half of the money disbursed on tuition in certain years went to music masters. The amount of time that professional tuition from musicians was procured varied from a few years – Lady Betty Hope and Lady Jean Maule each had about three years' tuition from a professional musician – to the twenty year period over which Lady Grisell Baillie had music lessons from various teachers at her parents' expense.¹⁰² It was usually when they were old enough to be sent to Edinburgh or London that girls benefitted from professional music tuition, though it was observed that musicians apparently attended the Baillie and Hope families on their respective country estates on occasion. Music tuition for both boys and girls was an addition to the normal curriculum; a teacher was either engaged to attend the children privately, or a supplement was paid for music lessons when the children attended school or university.

Why, then, was a substantial amount of money invested in the musical training of daughters? The traditional view is that music was a social accomplishment, necessary if girls were to secure a good marriage. But surely musical skill would come low on the list of priorities for the average eighteenth-century male, due to inherit his father's estate, and looking for someone to provide a male heir and look after the household

¹⁰² The children may also have had informal music lessons from a parent or governess in their younger years – a governess applying for a job to Lady Thunderton of Thunderton House, Elgin, in 1710 boasted that she could “sew white and coloured seam, dress head suits, play on treble and ‘gambo’ viol, virginal and manicords, at threttie pund [Scots] and gown and coat; or then fourtie pund and shoes and linen”, quoted by H G Graham in *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 14.

servants; the girl's dowry and the amount of land she would inherit would be of rather more consequence to the potential suitor than her musical accomplishment.

Music was perhaps more important as a diversion for females, whose lives were tedious in the extreme. In her book *Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* Marjorie Plant reports on endless days spent reading the Bible, sewing, making wax fruits and flowers, painting on glass, and "similar trifles".¹⁰³ Practising the harpsichord and playing chamber music with family and friends would have been an enjoyable and productive respite from this monotony, and in most circles would have been perfectly acceptable entertainment for a woman of rank and fortune. Furthermore, music lessons were a form of social contact, and perhaps one of very few opportunities young girls had in meeting people from outwith the family. The fact that most music masters were male was very probably an additional incentive to daughters to pursue their musical studies.

Whatever the reasons for the apparent concentration on the musical education of daughters at their brothers' expense, this chapter has presented evidence for considerable expenditure on music teachers by landowning families in eighteenth-century Scotland. In most instances the families offered long-term employment to one or more individuals, often for several years, and the annual payments to these teachers ranged from £1-10 sterling paid to McGibbon for three months in 1712, to £13-07-9 sterling paid to James Bremner over nine months in 1758 and £28-16 paid to Clarke for ten months in 1783. These figures represent a considerable percentage of the musician's income – McGibbon, for example, only earned £20 per annum in his main job playing for the Edinburgh Music Society. Later in the century the income from teaching a single pupil for nine or ten months is equivalent to more than half of a music society wage: Pasquali was paid £55 per annum in 1754 by the music society, while less-sought-after musicians such as McGibbon received £25 per annum in the 1750's, and Alexander Stewart's salary was only £15 per annum. Comparable teaching wages were around £25-£30 per annum – Keeble and Bremner were each being paid around two guineas per month for teaching a single pupil in the 1750's, and Stephen Clark had £28-16 for teaching an unknown number of pupils weekly for ten months in 1783. This regular income from teaching must have been the bread-and-butter for musicians.

¹⁰³ M Plant: *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 238

There may of course be considerably more expenditure on music education by the families under survey. Several sets of accounts are missing (for the Rose and Clerk families in particular), and the information in the account books for other families is certainly not comprehensive and tends to be sparse and incomplete. But from the evidence available it must be concluded that the families under survey went to considerable effort and expense to procure music tuition (at least for their daughters), and their financial support was crucial to the survival of music teachers in eighteenth-century Scotland. In many instances the sums they regularly paid to music teachers greatly exceeded other forms of financial support for musicians (detailed in the previous chapter), and there can be little doubt that the support of music teachers was another aspect of the important role the families under survey played in the patronage of musicians in Scotland.

Chapter 5

The Music Collections

The music collections established by Scottish families in the eighteenth century are supremely important as an indication not only of extensive musical involvement, but of the precise musical tastes of the landed classes. This chapter attempts to reconstruct the collections of music as they existed in the first half of the eighteenth century for each of the families under survey and explore the genres and styles prevalent in eighteenth-century Scotland.

This is not the first attempt to catalogue music collections of eighteenth-century Scottish families: at present there are accessible published details of four Scottish eighteenth-century country house music collections – those of the Maules of Panmure,¹ the Duffs of Duff House,² the Frasers of Castle Fraser,³ and George Skene of Skene.⁴ Only the last two of these constitute actual catalogues; the printed material on Duff House is a brief summary, and the published papers on different parts of the Panmure music library do not collectively cover the entire collection. A catalogue of part of the music library of the Baillies of Mellerstain is at present under preparation,⁵ and work is in progress on the music collections held at four National Trust properties in the Grampian area – Brodie Castle, Leith Hall, Crathie Castle and Drum Castle.⁶ This chapter will present and discuss the contents of a further seven music libraries, and supply supplementary information on the music collections of the Maules of Panmure and the Baillies of Mellerstain.

¹ C McCart: "The Panmure Manuscripts: A New Look at an Old Source of Christopher Simpson's Consort Music" in *Chelys* vol 18 (1989); P Cadell: "La Musique Française Classique dans la Collection des Comtes de Panmure" in *Recherches sur la Musique Française Classique* vol XXII (1984). Evelyn Stell's PhD thesis, *Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1601-1707*, Glasgow 1999, includes a detailed description of the seventeenth century material in the Panmure collection, and lists the contents of each of the manuscripts.

² B Cooper: "Catalogue of Early Printed Music in Aberdeen Libraries" in *RMA Research Chronicle* 14, 1978, pp. 2-138

³ R Williams: *Catalogue of the Castle Fraser Music Collection*

⁴ R Turbet: "The Music Collection of George Skene of Skene" in *Brio* vol 32 no 1, pp. 24-27

⁵ by L Lindgren and A Hicks

⁶ by R Williams

In the previous research into Scottish eighteenth-century music collections, there has been little discussion of trends in acquisition and musical taste, nor has there been a comparison of a range of music collections. The present work is innovative in addressing these issues, and also in that this is not merely a catalogue of surviving music. In some cases a number of musical items have been available for consultation either at the family seat or in a library or public archive, but in many other cases I have attempted to reconstruct the music collections as they were in the eighteenth century, using eighteenth- or nineteenth-century library catalogues, more recent catalogues prepared for the sale of a portion of the collection, discharges for purchase of music in the eighteenth century (discussed in Chapter 2 above), and random lists of music discovered among the archives. Some of these data sources are obviously more reliable than others, and random lists of music are especially problematic as it is very difficult to prove that the items listed were actually owned.

Following an introductory preface for each library, the contents of each collection are presented in a table, and identifications are provided from standard reference works for each item.⁷ The collections are compared and trends in genres and styles of music are identified and discussed in the subsequent sections of the chapter. Observations on acquisition of the collections and a description of significant or unusual items acquired by the families under survey follow before conclusions are drawn on the relative popularity of vocal and instrumental music, of foreign and indigenous music, and on the number of people typically involved in domestic music-making.

⁷ See below, pp. 159-60 for conventions and procedures adopted in listing items. For a small number of items it was impossible to provide identifications – usually because these are composite volumes which are inadequately described in a catalogue, and no longer extant. These items are listed in Appendix 6. Items which are accurately described but for which no identification could be established from standard reference works are included in the tables, pp. 161-184.

5.1 Sources for Reconstruction of the Music Collections

Maules of Panmure

The list of music owned by the Maule family was compiled from surviving volumes now in public libraries, and from a catalogue of books made in 1685 and including several musical items. Over forty volumes of music dating from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries were found in Panmure House before its demolition in 1955, and were subsequently deposited in the National Library of Scotland and the National Archives of Scotland. Twelve of these surviving items are listed in a catalogue of "books left at Edinr Augst 1685" which is among the Maule family archives;⁸ an additional nine items which are no longer extant are also mentioned in this catalogue.

The repertoire in the Panmure collection is extremely diverse, ranging from Italian madrigals to lute and harpsichord suites, Scottish tunes and songs, French viol pieces, Italian trio sonatas and operas. The collection includes two of only three known sources of viol music by Sainte-Colombe, and some forty-five unknown pieces by Marin Marais, which have attracted the attention of several eminent scholars.⁹ (The early seventeenth century keyboard music, now NLS MS 9447-9450, though not of relevance to the present work, has also been recognised as of great importance and forms the basis of papers by Harry Willsher, Thurston Dart and Evelyn Stell.¹⁰)

Colville of Ochiltree

The information on Lord Colville's music collection has come entirely from the sales catalogues for his library which has recently been discovered in a South African library.¹¹ There are 282 separate items in the sale catalogue; few of the "full

⁸ NAS GD45/27/130

⁹ eg Paul Hoorernan: *Concerts a Deux Violes Escales du Sieur de Sainte-Colombe*, 1973; Margaret Urquhart: *Style and Technique in the Pièces de Viole of Marin Marais*, PhD University of Edinburgh, 1970

¹⁰ H M Willsher: "An Early Scottish Virginal Book" in *Scottish Historical Review* xxxi (1952) pp. 131-136; T Dart: "New Sources of Virginal Music" in *Music and Letters* xxxv (1954) pp. 93-106; E Stell: "Lady Jean Campbell's Seventeenth-Century Music Book" in *Review of Scottish Culture* 8 (1992-3) pp. 11-19

¹¹ *Catalogue of Musick, being the complete and curious Collection of the late Lord Colvil*, Pretoria State Library, South Africa, shelf mark FB6652. The collection is listed in Appendix 5 as it runs to too many pages for inclusion in the body of the text. A small number of items, mainly miscellaneous manuscript collections which are impossible to identify with any degree of accuracy along with early-seventeenth century items are listed in "Items Omitted from Music Collection Listings" in Appendix 6. My thanks are due to Dr Moret of the NLS for her help in procuring a copy of the sales catalogue from Pretoria.

identifications” of these are entirely certain due to the nature of the sale catalogue, which frequently cites a place of publication, but never dates, and often has imprecise or inaccurate information on prints. In many cases it has been impossible to determine which edition or volume of a work was owned (and different volumes may be years or even decades apart); equally problematic are the Dutch and London reprints of items published elsewhere, for which no dates are supplied by standard music bibliographies – dates in these cases have been indicated as “post 1687” etc. Over one third of the items in the catalogue are manuscripts, many of which are composite collections, and dates of some of these volumes have been impossible to ascertain.

Baillie of Mellerstain

Sixteen of the music manuscripts collected in the early eighteenth-century by the Baillies of Mellerstain were bought by the Reid Music Library, University of Edinburgh, in 1948. A detailed catalogue of these manuscripts, with identifications and concordant sources of all items, is at present under preparation by Mr Anthony Hicks and Professor Lowell Lindgren; a brief résumé of the manuscript contents is included in the table. There is a total of 364 cantatas, duets and arias in the Reid Library manuscripts, 278 of which are by Italian composers. The manuscripts are particularly important as a source of the music of Giovanni and Antonio Maria Bononcini, and include many pieces unknown from other sources.

Important as the Reid Music Library manuscripts are, these are not the total music collection originating from Mellerstain House in the eighteenth century. Three music catalogues have provided further information on the musical acquisitions of the Baillies. An insurance inventory prepared in 1971 lists a total of nineteen eighteenth-century music volumes still held at Mellerstain House. Two eighteenth-century catalogues were found among the archives at Mellerstain: a *Catalogue of Mrs Murrays Books 1725*, and a library catalogue which is apparently from 1724,¹² both of which include a number of the volumes cited in the 1971 insurance inventory.

¹² This is the date given by the NRAS; however many of the contents in the catalogue date from later in the century, for example Burney's *History of Music*, 1776-89.

Clerk of Penicuik

Among the Clerk of Penicuik muniments deposited in the National Archives of Scotland there is an untitled, scribbled list of eighteenth century music.¹³ David Johnson has included this as an appendix to *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*,¹⁴ and without explanation, entitled it *Music books belonging to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, c 1750*. There is nothing on the list to suggest that it represents the Penicuik House music library - and the list is not even in Sir John Clerk's hand; however, various factors lead to the conclusion that this might indeed be taken as Sir John Clerk's music library. Firstly, the items are listed in no particular order, as if they have simply been drawn off the library shelf. Secondly, the detailed information on editions and volumes (and the incipit for one item, omitted from the list) indicate that these books were actually in front of the author of the list.¹⁵ Thirdly, this research has proved that the list is in the hand of James Clerk, who was third baronet from 1756 - it may be a list of his father's collection after his death. And most convincingly, one item on the list of music, the "songs in the Op[er]a of Clotilda", is mentioned in an account of music purchased by John Clerk in 1709.¹⁶

James Clerk has supplied a great amount of detail on the volumes he lists, and this has facilitated identification of many works. James' description is given in full in the first column of the table; the dates and places of publication supplied are prefixed with a question mark as in most cases it was impossible to ascertain which was the "second edition" etc. referred to by James.

A small number of eighteenth-century music volumes are among the Clerk muniments in the National Archives and have also been included in the list of the Penicuik House music collection.

¹³ GD 18/4553

¹⁴ pp. 217-8

¹⁵ Conversely, there is an indeterminate memo at the end of the document: *Memorandum buy Oper[a] Quinta of Festing Consisting of eight Concertos*, obviously indicating an item which was not in front of the author of the list of music.

¹⁶ GD 18/2182, quoted on p. 54 above

Grant of Monymusk

Much, if not all,¹⁷ of the music from Monymusk House has been sold within the last century, and several of the items listed were acquired by public libraries. A list of some three hundred Scottish tunes and songs among the Monymusk archives in the National Archives of Scotland¹⁸ may be an indication of the size of the library originally at Monymusk. Twelve items from the library are included as an appendix to a book by Henry Farmer on the Aberdeen Musical Society with the inference that this music would have been used by this society during the eighteenth century;¹⁹ it would appear that these items came into Farmer's possession early this century.²⁰ Reference to Farmer's catalogues of his own music have failed to reveal what has now become of these volumes: they were not acquired by Glasgow University in any of Farmer's bequests.²¹

A further four items from the Monymusk music library were deposited in the National Archives of Scotland along with the family muniments. One manuscript is now in the National Library of Scotland, and three volumes of vocal music along with four treatises are mentioned in a sale catalogue by JFK Johnstone in the 1920's.²² A "flagelet book" of 1697 appears in a "list of manuscripts and valuables at Monymusk, 1884-7",²³ and a copy of Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* is listed among the volumes missing from the Monymusk library on 20 March 1759.²⁴

Hope of Hopetoun

The only music surviving at Hopetoun House is five volumes of miscellaneous printed chamber music parts dating from late in the eighteenth century, probably once the property of the daughters of James, 3rd Earl. The names of the youngest two of James' six daughters, Jamima and Lucinda, born about 1775, appear on one of the volumes (a

¹⁷ In the RMA Research Chronicle 1978: Barry Cooper described a "large and valuable collection" of music still at Monymusk House; however the present owners have confirmed to Roger Williams of Aberdeen University that there is no longer anything of musical interest in their possession.

¹⁸ GD 345/1208

¹⁹ H G Farmer: *Music Making in the Olden Days*, p. 118

²⁰ H G Farmer: *Music Making in the Olden Days*, p. 60

²¹ Many thanks to Miss Sheila Craik, SMIC, for checking this.

²² *Catalogue of the Library at Monymusk House*. The musical items cited in this catalogue are included by Barry Cooper as an appendix to his *Catalogue of Early Printed Music in Aberdeen Libraries* in RMA Research Chronicle 14, 1978, pp. 2-138

²³ GD 345/1442

²⁴ GD 345/800

portrait of the two as infants hangs in Hopetoun House). Most of the music in these volumes was published in London in the 1780's, 90's or early 19th century, and indeed James and his family spent a great deal of time in London towards the end of the century.

Music dating from much earlier in the century was originally owned by the Hope family, and it has been possible to build up some picture of the contents of the music library earlier in the eighteenth century from a Sotheby's sale catalogue of 1889, and from five detailed receipts for music purchased (see Chapter 2, pp. 43-5). Five lots of eighteenth-century music were among the 1263 books from the Hopetoun library sold by Sotheby's in 1889; there were also a few older musical items, including Butler's *Principles of Musik* of 1636. The oldest is Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, first performed in Venice in 1590, and apparently with an intriguing eighteenth-century inscription by the poet and librettist Paolo Rolli, *This book was dedicated to the Earl of Burlington by P A Rolli, 1718*. The majority of the music originally in the Hopetoun music library (as listed in the table) dates from 1730 to 1760, and is mainly printed keyboard music.

Wemyss of Wemyss

There is now no eighteenth-century music at Wemyss Castle,²⁵ the ancestral home of the Wemyss family, but a large amount of music of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries has been preserved in Gosford House, (built by the 7th Earl of Wemyss in the last decade of the eighteenth century). A number of the eighteenth-century volumes appear to have come into the hands of the Wemyss family by accident, including the six volumes of keyboard music from the 1730's bearing the Gordon bookplate. This was probably acquired on the death of Henrietta, wife of the 2nd Duke of Gordon and mother of Catherine, who married (in 1745) Francis Charteris, future 7th Earl of Wemyss.

The collection as listed overleaf dates mainly from the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and includes copies (probably presentation copies) of two works dedicated to the 7th Earl of Wemyss.

²⁵ As stated in private correspondence from Captain Michael Wemyss, January 1996

Murray of Blair Atholl

Twenty volumes of printed and manuscript music survive at Blair Castle, mostly vocal music from the later eighteenth century. A list of “music books formerly at Strathallan Castle, which belonged to Amelia Lady Strathallan who was a Daughter of the 4th Duke of Atholl” compiled in the early twentieth century by Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise is enclosed in one of the volumes still at Blair Castle. This list has 55 items, 9 of which can be identified as among the surviving music books at Blair Castle. One further item in Lady Dorothea’s list, a composite volume containing Lampe’s *Colombine Courtezan*, Walsh’s *Lady’s Banquet*, and several opera arias, minuets and marches, is now among the Atholl collection²⁶ in the AK Bell Library, Perth. Two further volumes carrying the Atholl bookplate, not given in Lady Dorothea’s list, were sold to the Reid Music Library in 1959.

Most of the items from Lady Dorothea’s list of music “formerly at Strathallan Castle” have been included in the list of music owned by the Murray family in the eighteenth century,²⁷ on Lady Dorothea’s evidence that the volumes formed an earlier family collection, rather than eighteenth-century music purchased by her. The presence of nine of the items at Blair Castle leads to the assumption that all fifty-five volumes from Strathallan were moved to Blair Atholl around the beginning of the twentieth century, and possibly the remaining 46 volumes listed by Lady Dorothea were subsequently sold.

Rose of Kilravock

The music collection at Kilravock castle was mainly large scale printed chamber music – symphonies, concertos and overtures – dating from the last three decades of the eighteenth century. When Kilravock castle was made over to a Christian trust in 1971, 27 volumes were bought from the Rose family by the National Library of Scotland. Two sets of manuscripts which are important sources for the music of the 6th Earl of

²⁶ The Atholl collection – some 700 volumes of music dating from the 17th-19th centuries – was collected by Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and bequeathed to the Sandeman library in Perth on her death in 1937. Lady Dorothea was the daughter of the 7th Duke of Atholl, and had a lifelong interest in Scottish music, and especially in tunes with Atholl connections. As well as the Atholl collection now in the AK Bell Library, Perth, Lady Dorothea was responsible for acquiring the Glen collection of Scottish music, now in the National Library of Scotland.

²⁷ A small number of items were impossible to identify and have been listed in Appendix 6.

Kelly were also acquired by the National Library of Scotland²⁸, along with a further two manuscripts (of operatic airs and violin duets) dating from much earlier in the eighteenth century. There is no music from the eighteenth century now at Kilravock.

Procedures adopted in listing of collections

Lists of all items dating from c1680 - 1800 are given for each family in the tables of music collections (pp. 161-185).²⁹ The first column of the table gives the title of the music as it appears on the spine (where the music is available) or as it is listed in a catalogue or discharge (where this is all that is extant). In the final column of the tables the source of information is given on items whose whereabouts are now unknown, along with any names of original owners found on extant volumes. The fourth column of the tables cites the present location of extant items.³⁰

The tables also attempt to supply a full identification of each work, and a date and place of publication for printed items, or an approximate date of compilation for manuscripts. These have been supplied from normal bibliographical reference works - RISM, CPM, BUCEM, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh*, and Grove, and the following conventions have been adopted for publication dates of printed volumes:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1759 | definite date given on print |
| [1759?], [1759], [c1759] | date supplied from external evidence by one or more bibliographic works |
| *c 1750 | my suggested dating of a manuscript, miscellaneous compilation, or unknown printed item |

²⁸ The three Kilravock manuscripts acquired most recently (in 1997, via a London bookdealer) are described in Appendix 4.

²⁹ Some of the music collections contained older items which may well have been used and enjoyed in the eighteenth century by the families under survey. These have not been included in the tables, but are listed in Appendix 6. The collection of Robert Colville runs to many pages and has been placed in Appendix 5.

³⁰ Please refer to the list of abbreviations for libraries (adopted from RISM), and abbreviations for standard bibliographic sources, cited in the preface to this work, p. iii.

In many cases where items have been drawn from an eighteenth century catalogue or discharge, it has proved impossible to identify precisely which edition of a particular piece was owned, and often harder yet to supply a publication date.³¹ Therefore it seemed expedient to supply the first date of publication for each item in the second column of the table, which will give a sufficiently accurate timespan for the purposes of this work. In instances where catalogue entries and receipts³² are too vague to definitively identify a publication, the most likely identification, or a range of options, has been given. For manuscripts, an approximate date of compilation has been estimated from the dates of publication or composition of items known from other sources.

³¹ The collection of the Clerks of Penicuik is especially specific in its citing of editions, but in most cases these are not now known.

³² Certain pieces in manuscripts have also been hard to identify, mainly because of the unavailability of imprints of concordant sources in Scotland.

Music Owned by the Maule Family of Panmure

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| French Music | | | | |
| ms 5part string music by Lully | *late 17th century | Contain almost all of the instrumental music from 29 operas and ballets by Lully, copied by a professional scribe in chronological order. Pieces date from 1657 - 77. | NLS MS 9459-9461 | In 1685 catalogue |
| ms 3part music by Lully | *late 17th century | 157 pieces from Lully's opera and ballets. Only the 1 st treble and bass parts now survive. Include a lot of the repertoire from MS 9459-61 above. | NLS MS 9462-3 | In 1685 catalogue. |
| lopra de persee en musique | Paris, 1682 | Lully: Persee | ? | In 1685 catalogue. |
| lopra de amadis en musique | Paris, 1684 | Lully: Amadis | ? | In 1685 Catalogue. |
| ms Bass viol pieces by Marais | *late 17th century | 45 unknown pieces, and 37 pieces which appear in the 5 printed <i>Pieces a Une et a Deux Violes</i> (1686 , 1701, 1711, 1717, 1725) - the Panmure mss pre-date these. | NLS MS 9465-7 | In 1685 catalogue. 9467 is signed "Harry Maule" |
| a Book of viol lessons by Mr Marais | *late 17th century | Probably a compilation of pieces from the printed books, pieces which are now known from other manuscript sources, and unknown pieces. | ? | In 1685 catalogue. |
| som viol lessons by St Columbe | late 17th century | unknown (Sainte-Colombe) | ? | In 1685 catalogue. |

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|
| ms Bass viol pieces by Ste Colombe | *late 17 th century | These are 2 of only 3 extant volumes of Sainte-Colombe's music (and an edition of these mss was published in 1973 by Paul Hooreman.) There is no indication of composer's identity on ms. 111 pieces, 13 of which are known from the third source of Sainte-Colombe's music. | NLS MS 9468-9 | In 1685 catalogue |
| Mr Verrier his 5 peants in on book | *late 17 th century | Probably unknown pieces by one of the French family of court musicians. | ? | In 1685 catalogue. |
| Italian Music | | | | |
| Corelli trio sonatas, op 3, cello part | post 1689 | 1 st pub Rome, 1689. This edition pub Paris by Ballard, Ribou and Foucault | NASGD 45/26/96 | Signs of use – eg "adagio" written on sonata one. |
| Ms copy of opera <i>Anagilda</i> | [1717] | vocal score (3 vols) + 1 st violin part of pasticcio, probably by Tinazzoli | NLS MS 9470 – 9473 | "Pesaro 1717" on first page |
| ms <i>Aria Segue il suo fido la Rondinella</i> | [1717] | not identifiable | NLS MS 9474 | "Bologna 1717" written on endpaper |
| ms <i>Aria Quive il corse nudo il chiedi</i> | | unknown | NLS MS 9475 | |
| ms pieces by Matteis | [late 17 th century] | Probably a copy of one of the autograph versions of the second Book of Aires for violin and bass which Matteis distributed to "persons of quality" about 1681. | NLS MS 9464 | In 1685 catalogue |
| Nicolla Mateis first book in two parts | [c 1676] | Probably a copy of Matteis: First Book of Aires, pub London 1676(?) | ? | In 1685 catalogue |
| A booke of violin lessons by Nicollas matties | [late 17 th century] | ? | ? | In 1685 catalogue |

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------------------|
| British Manuscripts | | | | |
| ms suite by Simpson | *late 17 th century | Twenty four-part airs for two trebles and two basses, found in two manuscripts of Simpson's music now in Bodleian Library, identified in the Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index. 1* treble part only. This is possibly "A collection of 4 pairs for the violin in four books" mentioned in the 1685 catalogue, the other three books being now lost. | NLS MS 9453 | In 1685 catalogue(?) |
| ms French and English viol music | *late 17th century | Simpson's 22 3-part dances, 3 dances by Jenkins, 14 arrangements of Airs from the Appendix to Simpson's Compendium of Practical Music, and unidentified French consort music. | NLS MS 9455-7 | |
| ms 77 pieces for violin | *late 17th century | Scottish tunes, court tunes (many of which also appear in various editions of Apollo's Banquet) and unidentified suites of dances. | NLS MS 9454 | |
| ms Notebook | *late 17th century | Dance tunes attributed to (John) Bannester. | NASGD 45/26/104 | |
| ms of keyboard pieces | *late 17th century | 17 Elementary keyboard pieces, mainly Scottish | NLS MS 9458 | |

Music Owned by the Baillie Family of Mellerstain

Reid Library Manuscripts - see forthcoming inventory by L Lindgren and A Hicks for full details of contents, date and provenance

| Shelfmark | Contents |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| | |
| P1422 | 13 arias and cantatas, Bononcini |
| P1423 | 18 arias, Bononcini |
| P1424 | 18 arias, Bononcini |
| P1425 | 49 cantatas and arias, Bononcini |
| P1426 | 7 cantatas, Mancini |
| P1427 | [Orlandini], volume missing |
| P1428 | 3 cantatas, Pergolesi and anon |
| P1429 | 5 cantatas and arias, Porpora |
| P1430 | 40 arias, Scarlatti |
| P1431 | 21 duets and arias, Scarlatti etc |
| P1432 | 5 duets, Steffani |
| P1433 | 10 "diverse cantate" |
| P1434 | 20 cantatas, various authors |
| P1435 | 38 "Arie Diverse" |
| P1436 | 58 "diverse cantate" |
| P1437 | 12 duets, Grua etc |

Volumes listed in the 1724, 1725 or 1971 inventories of Mellerstain Library

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes on Acquisition |
|------------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------|---|
| Erminia | 1723 | GB Bononcini: Erminia. Revised version performed London, 30 March 1723 | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; in 1725 cat |
| Farnace | 1723 | GB Bononcini: Farnace, re di Ponti, 1st Perf London 1723 | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; in 1725 cat |
| Calpurnia | 1724 | GB Bononcini: Calpurnia, 1st perf London, 1724 | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; in 1725 cat |
| Gay: Beggar's Opera | 1728 | John Gay: The Beggar's Opera | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| Il Pastor Fido | 1712 | Probably Handel's 1712 setting of Guarini's pastorale. (2 of the Mellerstain catalogues give date as 1718.) | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; 4 copies in 1725 cat; 1 copy in 1724 cat |
| Handel Suites | 1720 or 1733 | Handel: Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| ms Arie del Sasone | *1730's, Italy | 2 vols of arias (42 in total) by Hasse, from <i>L'Issipile</i> (1st perf Naples 1732) and <i>Siroe</i> (1st perf Bologna 1733) | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| Kerr's Cantici Solomonis | 1727 | ? | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| ms Arie del Pergole | *1730's, Italy | vol of arias (12) by Pergolesi, from <i>Il Prigioniero</i> (1st perf Naples 1733), <i>Lontananza</i> (pub Naples, c 1736), and <i>Lo Frate "Nnamarato</i> (1st perf Naples 1732) | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| Ramsay: Tea Table Miscellany | 1726-7 | Perhaps Stuart's music to Allan Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany. | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; 1 copy in 1724 catalogue |
| Ramsay: Tea Table Miscellany | London, 1733 | A Ramsay: Tea Table Miscellany, 9th edition, pub London by A Millar | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes on Acquisition |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------|---|
| Songs in Narcissus | London, 1720 | D Scarlatti: Songs in the New opera call'd Narcissus, pub Walsh and Hare | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |
| 2 vols of plays and operas | 1675 - 1732 | 24 plays and opera word books, most from London performances, including The Siege of Constantinople (1675), Pyrrhus and Demetrius (1709) and Giasone (Naples, 1732) | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; in 1725 cat; in 1724 catalogue |
| Italian operas, Rinaldo & c | 1717 - 1756 | Two folders containing 15 word books to Italian operas, including Rinaldo, Siroe, Alessandro etc are listed in the NRAS survey of Mellerstain | Mellerstain | in 1724 catalogue |
| A Treatise of Musick: Milcom | Edinburgh, 1721 | A Malcolm: A Treatise of Music | Mellerstain | in 1725 Catalogue |
| Bernard (Gil) Musick made Easy | | Unknown. | ? | in 1724 cat |
| Burney on Musick | London, 1776-89 | C Burney: A General History of Music | ? | in 1724 cat |
| Bemetzrieder Music made Easy | 1778 | Anton Bemetzrieder: Music made Easy to Every Capacity. English edition pub London by R Ayre and G Moore | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory; in 1724 cat |
| Burney's Present State of Music | 1773 | C Burney: The Present State of Music in Germany | Mellerstain | in 1971 inventory |

Music Owned by the Clerk Family of Penicuik House

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|----------------------|--|------------------|----------------------|
| Concerti di Guisep: Alberti Opera prima | Bologna, 1713 | Giuseppe Matteo Alberti: 10 Concerti per chiesa e per camera, 1st pub Bologna | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti da Tomaso Albinoni oper: 5ta | Amsterdam, [1708] | T Albinoni: Concerti a Cinque, 1st pub Le Cene, 1708 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti da Tomaso Albinoni oper Nona Lib 1mo ed 2do | Amsterdam [1722] | T Albinoni: Concerto a 5, 1st pub Le Cene. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Albinoni Conc Opera 10ma | Amsterdam, [1735-6?] | T Albinoni: Concerti a cinque con violini, violetta, violoncello e basso continuo, 1st pub Le Cene | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Pieces de Clavissin Composee par Henry D'Anglebert | Paris, 1689 | Jean-Henri d'Anglebert: Pieces de Clavecin, 1st pub Paris 1689, subsequently Paris 1703, Amsterdam (no date) | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Franc: Barsanti Opera Terza | Edinburgh, 1742 | F Barsanti: Concerti grossi, pub by the composer | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Bassaneys Consertes | Bologna 1692 or 1699 | G B Bassani: Concerti sacri, motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci, pub 1692, or Salmi concertati, pub 1699 | ? | bought Aug 10 1708 |
| overture & tuns in thomely | [1704] | Perhaps G B Bononcini's opera <i>Thomyris</i> , 1 st performed 1704 | ? | bought Aug 10 1708 |
| Concerti da Anton Bonporti oper 11ma | Trento, [post 1727] | Francesco Antonio Bonporti: Concerti a quattro, due violini, alto viola, violone e cembalo, 1st pub Trento, after 1727 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Collection of Aires and Marches | Edinburgh 1771 | A Collection of Aires and Marches for two violins or German flutes, pub Bremner (London, according to RISM) | NASGD 18/4544 | |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|---------------------|--|------------------|---|
| Concerti e Simphonie d'Ant.Brescianillo oper: prima lib 5mo ed 2do | Amsterdam, 1738 | Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello: 12 Concerti et sinphonie op 1. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Castrucci opera 2da | London, [?1734] | Castrucci: Sonate a violino e violone o cembalo, pub J Walsh | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Carlo Cavallini Opera 6ta | | Unknown. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Songs in the Opera Called Clotilda | London, [1709] | F Conti: Songs in the New Opera call'd Clotilda, pub Walsh, Randall and Hare | ? | listed in GD 18/4553; "opra of Clotilda" bought 18 April 1709 |
| Corelli Opera Quinta | Amsterdam, 1700 | Corelli: Sonate a violino e violone o cembalo, pub in Rome, London and Amsterdam in 1700, then numerous other editions throughout century | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Corelli Opera Sesta | Amsterdam, 1714 | Corelli: Concerti Grossi con duoi violinie e violoncello di concertino obligato. Pub 1* by Roger of Amsterdam in 1714. 8 London editions, include 2 by Walsh (1715 and 1731) | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| A mad Song in Don Quixote | London, 1694 | ? D'Urfe/Eccles: don Quixote, 1694, sung by Mrs Bracegirdle | GD18/4547 | |
| Oper[a] Quinta of Festing | London, 1739 | Festing: 8 Concertos in 7 parts, pub William Smith for the author | | memo to buy this at end of GD 18/4553 |
| Franc: Geminiani Opera seconda | London, 1732 | Geminiani: Concerti Grossi con due violini, pub Walsh 1732. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Francesco Geminiani Opera terza | London, 1732 | Geminiani: Concerti Grossi, pub first by Walsh in 1732 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|-------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------|
| Groneman Opera Ima | Paris, [c 1740] | Johann Albert Groneman: VI sonate a due flauti, overo due violin, 1 st pub Paris, 2 nd edition London, c 1744, by J Simpson | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti di Hasse Opera prima | Amsterdam, [c 1740] | Hasse: Sei concerti, tre a due flauti traversieri . . . op 1, pub Witvogel | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Hass Opera 2da | London, [1740] | Hasse: Solos for a german flute or violin, opera seconda, pub J Walsh | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sonate a tre d Hasse Oper 2da | Amsterdam, [c 1740] | Hasse: Sei Sonate a tre, due flauti traversiere o due violini, op 2, pub Witvogel | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| opr of Pyrrhos & | London, 1708 | Haym's adaption of Scarlatti's Pirro e Demetrio, 1st perf London 1708. | ? | bought Janur: 29 1709 |
| Demetrius | London, 1708 | Demetrius sung by Signr Valentini in the Opera of Pyrrhus & Demetrius | NASGD 18/4545 | |
| Marius from Pyrrhus and Demetrius | London, 1708 | Marius sung by M: D'Lapine in ye Opera of Pyrrhus & Demetrius | NASGD 18/4546 | |
| Lampugnani Opera prima | London, [c1745] | Lampugnani: Six Sonatas for Two Violins with a Through Bass . . . opera prima | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti di Pietro Locatelli opera Quarta Parte Ima ed 2da | Amsterdam, [c1735] | Locatelli: 6 Introductioni teatrali, pub Le Cene. (for string quartet) | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Locatelli a tre Oper 2da | Amsterdam, 1732 or 1736 | Locatelli: either Sonate a flauto traversiere solo op 2, pub 1732, or Sei sonate a tre, op 5, pub 1736 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Bat: Martini Opera prima | London, [1745?] | G B Sammartini: Six Sonatas for two violins op 1, pub J Simpson | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|---------------------------------|--|------------------|----------------------|
| Six Solo's by Will: McGibbon | Edinburgh, 1740 | McGibbon : 6 Sonatas for Violin or Flute and continuo, printed by R Cooper | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti di Schiassi Opera Ima Lib Imo | Amsterdam, [1729] | Schiassi: 12 Concerti a violino primo principale, pub Le Cene | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Trattamenti musicali da Gaetano Schiassi Oper Ima | Bologna, 1724 | Schiassi: Trattamenti musicali per camera a violino | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Somis opera 2da | Torino, 1723, or Paris, [1740?] | GB Somis: Sonate da camera a violino solo op 2, pub Torino 1723 or Lorenzo Somis: Sonate da camera a violino solo op 2, pub Paris c 1740 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sei sonate a Viol: Solo di Giuseppe Tartini Opera Ima | Amsterdam, [1732] | Tartini: VI Sonate a violino e violone, pub Witvogel | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sei Concerti da Gius: Tartini Oper Prima Lib: Imo | Amsterdam, 1728 | Tartini: Sei Concerti a 5, pub Le Cene | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sei Concerti di Giuseppe: Tartini oper prima Lib: 2do | Amsterdam, 1730 | Tartini: Sei Concerti a 5, pub Le Cene. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti di Giuseppe: Tartini oper seconda | Amsterdam [c1734, or 1743?] | Tartini: probably VI concertos for 8 insts pub Le Cene, c 1734, or possibly 6 Sonatas, pub 1743 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Solos di Tartini oper 7ma | Paris, [1748] | Tartini: Sonate a violino solo col basso | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti da Carlo Tesserini oper prima Lib: Imo ed 2do | London, [c1727] | Tessarini: Concerti a cinque con 3 violini op prima, 1 ^a pub Amsterdam, no date. 2 nd edition by Walsh, c 1727 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Fantasie a Tre di Giuseppe Valentini opera terza | Rome, 1706 | G Valentini: Fantasie musicali a tre | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Idee per Camera di Giuseppe: Valentini opera Quarta | Rome, [1706-7] | G Valentini: Idee per camera a Violino e Violone Opera 4 | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|----------------------------|--|------------------|----------------------|
| Suonate a tre di Giusep: Valentini opera quinta | Amsterdam, [c 1720] | G Valentini: XII Suonate a tre, due violini e violoncello, pub Roger | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Concerti di Giusep: Valentini Opera Settima lib: Imo ed 2do | Bologna, 1710 | G Valentini: Concerti grossi a quattro e sei strumenti. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Allitamenti de Giusep: Valentini opera Ottava | Rome, 1714 | G Valentini: Allettamenti per camera | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sonate per il Flauto Traversiero da Roberto Valentini Oper: 12ma | Rome, [1730] | Robert Valentini: Sonate per il Flauto Traversiero | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Veracini Opera 1ma | Dresden, 1721 | Veracini: Sonate a violino solo e basso | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Cimento dell'Armonia di Ant: Vivaldi Opera Ottava Lib Imo ed 2do | Amsterdam, [?1730] | Vivaldi: Il cimento dell'Armonia e dell'inventionone. Concerti a 4 e 5. 1st pub Le Cene. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Vivaldi Opera 12ma | Amsterdam, [?1730] | Vivaldi: Sei concerti a violino principale, pub Le Cene | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| Sei Concerti d'Alcuni "Famosi Maestri" Lib Imo ms notebook | [Amsterdam, c 1730] | 2nd of these books only is known, pub Wittvogel, c 1730. | ? | listed in GD 18/4553 |
| 3 monthly masks | *mid 18th century? 1708 | misc ms including harmony notes, violin parts for trio sonatas by Martini and McGibbon(?), vocal exercises etc The Whole Volume Compleat Intituled the Monthly Masks of Vocal Musick containing all the choicest Songs by the Best Masters . . . pub annually by Walsh and Hare | GD 18/4565 | |
| Mercurius Musicus, 1708 | London, September 1708 | Mercurius Musicus or a monthly entertainment of Musick made and contriv'd for the harpsicord . . . pub Walsh and Randal | GD 18/4540 | bought Aug 10 1708 |

Music Owned by the Grant Family of Monymusk

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| JC Bach harpsichord concertos | London, 1777 | JC Bach: 6 Concertos for harpsichord or pianoforte op 13, pub by Welcker. Violin 1 part only | NAS GD 345/1491 | |
| Bach 6 Grand overtures | (?) Forster, London, 1781 | JC Bach Six Grand overtures op 18. Farmer says pub Welcker London, c 1770 | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Barrow Psalms | London, [1700] | John Barrow: The Psalm Singer's Choice Companion, 2nd edition pub London by A Pearson, for the author, c 1740 | ? | in J F K Johnstone's catalogue, c 1920 |
| Bremner: A Collection of Catches | Edinburgh, [1757] | Unknown. | ? | in J F K Johnstone's catalogue, c 1920 |
| Corelli Concerti Grossi Op 6 | Amsterdam, 1714 | A Corelli: Concerti Grossi con duoi violini . . . Roger edition. Violin 1 part only | NAS GD 345/1491 | |
| East Psalms | Waltham, 1748 | East: A Collection of Psalm Tunes in 4 Parts | ? | in J F K Johnstone's catalogue, c 1920 |
| Erskine: Periodical Overture no 18 | Bremner, London, c 1775 | Probably Thomas Erskine: Periodical Overture in 8 Parts, no 28, Maid of the Mill. | (?Gu Bi.21-y.15 – unavailable due to damp damage) | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Haydn Overture in B flat | Forster, London, 1783 | Haydn: A Favourite Overture in B Flat (either Hob 1: 77, 71 or 35) | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Haydn Three Symphonies | Longman and Broderip, London c 1780 | Haydn: Three Symphonies in 8 Parts op 15, Hob 1: 66, 67, 68 | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| Haydn: The Favorite Sinfonie in G | Bland, London, c 1790 | Bland published twelve as "The Favorite Sinfonie no . . ." from 1782; no 5 is G minor (Hob Ia: 15) | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| McGibbon: Six Sonatas | London, Simpson, c1745 | W McGibbon: Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes and bass | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Oswald Twelve Serenatas | London, c 1765 | J Oswald: Twelve Serenatas for Two Violins, Violoncello, Harpichord | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Orpheus Caledonius | London, 1726 | William Thomson: Orpheus Caledonius | ? | missing from library 20 March 1759 |
| Pleyel Periodical Symphony no 9 | Preston, London, c 1790 | Pleyel: Periodical Sinfonie for two violins, tenor & Bass with horns and hautboys ad lib no 9 | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Pugnani Six Divertimentos | Napier, London, 1772 | Six Divertimentos for Two violins and a Bass composed in an easy and familiar style by Pugnani, Vachon, Borghi and Aprile. Farmers says pub Napier, 1780 | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| J Real Duets | London, late 18th century | Joseph Real: 24 Duets for 2 French Horns, 2 Guitars or 2 German Flutes, pub Thomson and sons | NAS GD345/1491 | |
| Vanhall A Single Sinfonie | Betz, London [1780?] | A Single Sinfonie for Violins, Hautboys, Horn . . . | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Vento Six Overtures | Welcker, London, [1774] | Mattici Vento: Six Overtures in 8 Parts | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |
| Youth's Delight on the Flagelet | London, 1697 | Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, the Third Part containing ye newest lessons with easier directions than any lutherto | ? | in 19th century list of valuables at Monymusk |
| Zuckert Eight Sonatas or Trios | London, [1765] | Eight Sonatas or Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello op 2, pub for author | ? | in Farmer's possession, 1950 |

| Spine Title/ Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------|---|
| Hymns and Psalms | *Late 18 th century | A Second Collection of Hymns and Psalm Tunes as Sung in the Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. Not known from other sources. | NAS GD 345/1491 | |
| ms of harpsichord and vocal music | *late 18th century | Scottish and European music, including a Kelly symphony | NLS MS Acc 11020 | signature of Mary Grant |
| Pasquali treatise | Edinburgh, 1757 | N Pasquali: Thorough Bass Made Easy | Gu Ca.9-y.36 | With Monymusk bookplate; signed "Capt Archd Grant 1757". Owned by Farmer. |
| treatise by A.B. | Edinburgh, 1717 | [Alexander Bayne]: <i>An Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro' Bass</i> | Gu Ca.9-b.34 | Signature of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk |

Music Owned by the Hope Family of Hopetoun House

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes on Acquisition |
|--|-------------------------------|---|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Alberti's Lessons | London, 1748 | Probably D Alberti: 8 Sonate per il cembalo, op 1, pub Walsh | ? | Bought Keeble, 1750 |
| Ciampi's Eight Songs | London, [c1755] | L V Ciampi: Arie 8, pub Walsh | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1751 |
| Corellis concertos | Amsterdam, [1714] | Corelli Concerti Grossi op 6, 1st pub Roger (Amsterdam). | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1749 |
| Corellis solos made into Concertos by Gemi | London, [1726] | Geminiani: Concerti Grossi della prima/seconda parte dell'op 5 D'Arcangelo Corelli. 1st part pub Smith and Barrett, 2nd by Walsh and Hare. | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1749 |
| Geminiani's Concertos - 2 ^d & 3 ^d opera | London, [1732] | Geminiani: [6] Concerti Grossi. Lots of editions; 1732 is by Walsh | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1749 |
| J Gay: Beggar's Opera | Glasgow 1750 | Unknown edition of J Gay: Beggar's Opera | ? | Sold by Sotheby's, 1889 |
| Dr Green's Harp ^d Lessons | London, 1732 | 1st pub by Walsh in vol 2 of <i>The Lady's Banquet</i> , in 1732; pirated edition by Daniel Wright (1733) as Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet; also published by John Johnson, c 1750. | ? | Bought from Robert Bremner in 1758 |
| Handel's Organ Concertos | London, 1738 / 40 | Handel: 6 organ concerti pub 1738 or 6 concerti (orchestral, arranged for organ) pub 1740 | ? | bought from Keeble in 1750 |
| Handel's Sixty Overtures for the Harpsichord/ Sixty Overtures in 8 parts | c 1726-1750 | Walsh: Handel's Sixty Overtures from all his operas and Oratorios, pub 1749; or some of various sets of overtures "fitted to the harpsichord of spinnet" pub 1726 onwards. | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1751 |
| Kellery Sonata per il cembalo | Kassel, [c1729] | Fortunato Chelleri: Sonate di Galanteria per il cembalo | ? | copied Werner 1750 |
| Malcolm's Treatise of Musick | Edinburgh, 1721 | A Malcolm: Treatise of Musick | ? | Sold by Sotheby's, 1889 |
| Piedro van Maldere sonata per il cembalo | *mid 18 th century | No harpsichord sonatas known by Pierre van Maldere. Probably a keyboard arrangements of one of his overtures | ? | copied Werner 1750 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes on Acquisition |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|------------------|------------------------------------|
| S'Olapis Duets | *mid 18 th century | Santo Lapis (1725 - 65): either his Sonata da camera a due, violino e basso pub Augsburg as op1, or Sei duetti per due flauti o violini o fagotto, pub Paris, dates unknown | ? | Bought from Robert Bremner in 1758 |
| Pasquali's ThoroBass | Edinburgh, 1757 | N Pasquali: Thorough-bass Made Easy, pub R Bremner | ? | Bought from Robert Bremner in 1758 |
| Pescetti sonata per il cembalo | London, [1739] | G B Pescetti: Sonate per gravi-cembalo | ? | copied Werner 1750 |
| Pleyel 6 Grand Sonatas | 1788 | Pleyel: Six Grand Sonatas Ben 431-36 | Hopetoun House | |
| Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd | Glasgow 1788 | Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd, incl music, Glasgow 1788 | ? | Sold by Sotheby's, 1889 |
| Scarlatti's Lessons two Vol. | London, c 1748 | D Scarlatti: Forty-two suits of Lessons for the Harpsichord, revised T Roscigrave, pub Johnson. (2 earlier editions of this in Italian and French, were pub in London, c 1738, and 1739) | ? | Bought from John Keeble in 1751 |
| Smith's lessons, 1st volume | [1732-5] | ?John C Smith: A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord, vol 1 pub London for the author, 1732-5 | ? | copied Werner 1750 |
| Stanley Concerto for the harpsicord | London, [c 1745] | Probably John Stanley: Six Concertos set for the Harpsichord or Organ, op 2, pub Walsh | ? | copied Werner 1750 |
| Stanley Sonata per il cembalo | London, [1740] | Perhaps John Stanley: 8 Solos for German Flute, Violin or harpsicord, op 1 | ? | copied Werner 1750 |
| Printed bass parts | *late 18th century | Bass parts bound together of sonatas for harpsichord/piano + violin + bass by Eichner, Welcker, Vanhall, Gruner, Wolff | Hopetoun House | |
| ms, misc vocal music | *late 18th century | ms with miscellaneous voice and piano or vocal duet, various scribes (amateur) | Hopetoun House | |
| printed piano music | *late 18th century | Piano sheet music bound together, by Lolli, Clementi, Gelinek, Rossini, JB Taylor, etc | Hopetoun House | |
| chamber music | *late 18th century | Volume of chamber music for violin and piano, or harpsichord, violin, flute etc. pieces by le Brun, Robert Barber, Giordani, Pugnani, Smith, Hillmandel | Hopetoun House | signature of Jamima and Lucinda |

Music Owned by the Wemyss Family at Gosford House

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------|---|
| JC Bach Harpsichord Concertos | Amsterdam, [1768?] | J C Bach Six Harpsichord Concertos op 7, first pub by Hummel, Amsterdam. Violin parts only. | Gosford House | |
| Carusi Sonatas for Violin or Flute | *c 1750? | Francesco Carusi: Sei Sonate per Due Violini overo due Flauti Traversi e Basso. London, pub Rutherford. Violin I and Bass parts only. | Gosford House | bookplate of Henrietta, Dutches of Gordon |
| Dieupart Suites de Clavessin | Amsterdam, 1701 | Six Suites [sic] de Clavessin par M Dieupart, pub Roger. 2 copies | Gosford House | both copies signed "H Mordaunt" |
| Foulis sonatas | Edinburgh, [c 1770] | D Foulis: Six solos for violin with harpsichord composed by a Gentleman | Gosford House | Probably the dedication copy of Francis Charteris, 7th Earl |
| John Garth Sonatas | London, 1768 | Six sonatas for harpsichord of piano and organ with accompaniments for two violins and cello by John Garth. Op 2 pub Bremner, 1768. | Gosford House | |
| Psalms, 4 vols | London, 1757 | B Marcello: The first fifty psalms adapted to the English version by John Garth. 8 vols, London, Johnson, 1757. pub Johnson. Vols 1, 5, 7, and un-numbered at Gosford. | Gosford House | |
| Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin | London, 1733 | Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin Composees par G F Handel, 2nd vol, pub Walsh (pirated copy). | Gosford House | bookplate of Henrietta, Duchess of Gordon |
| Sonatas for a German Flute | London, c 1733 - 1739 | Sonatas or Chamber Aires for a German Flute, violin or Harpsicord being the most celebrated songs and Aires from the Operas of Handel, vols 1 and 2 (of 7 vols), pub Walsh. | Gosford House | bookplate of Henrietta, Duchess of Gordon |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------|---|
| Handel Keyboard Music | London, 1735 | Six Fugues or Voluntaries for organ or harpsicord by G F Handel. op 3. pub by Walsh. | Gosford House | bookplate of Henrietta, Dutches of Gordon |
| Handel Overtures | London, 1731 - c1760 | Overtures fitted to the Harpsicord or Spinnet compos'd by Mr Handel. Lots of different editions. | Gosford House | bookplate of Henrietta, Dutches of Gordon |
| Peacock Scotch Airs | Edinburgh, ? | Peacock: Fifty Favourite Scotch Airs for Flute or Violin, pub Bremner and Stewart. No Edinburgh edition known. (pub Mrs Johnson, London c 1762 for the author in Aberdeen, then c 1790 by Preston, London) | Gosford House | |
| Pleyel Duos for Violin and Cello | London, [1785?] | Pleyel: Duos for Violin and Cello, Ben 501-6. Pub as op VII by Forster, London. | Gosford House | |
| Schetky cello solos | London, 1776 | Six solos for cello by Schetky, op 4, pub by Bremner. | Gosford House | Perhaps the dedication copy of Francis Charteris, 7th Earl |
| Pot Pourri | Edinburgh, *late 18 th century | Pot Pourri D'Airs Connus d'Hermaan (=J D Hermann?), pub Corri | Gosford House | |
| Misc Vocal Music | Edinburgh, *late 18th century | Scots songs + other vocal music incl Mozart <i>O Dolce Conciato</i> . All Corri editions | Gosford House | "Lady Wemyss" on cover |
| Misc piano music | Edinburgh, *late 18th century | incl Giomovichi's last concerto, Clementi's Octave Lesson. All Corri editions | Gosford House | "Lady Wemyss" on cover |

Music Owned by the Murray Family of Blair Castle

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|---|----------------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|
| | | | | |
| Bossi: <i>Irza</i> (opera) | *early 19 th century? | Cesare Bossi: <i>Irza</i> . No exact date of first performance known. | | In Lady DRB's list; signed Amelia Murray |
| Brenner's 30 Scots Songs | Edinburgh, 1757 | MacGibbon: A Collection of Scots Tunes adapted for the harpsichord, pub Brenner | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list |
| Brenner Airs and Marches | London, 1762 | R Brenner: A Collection of Airs and Marches for 2 Violins, etc | Reid Music Library P5651 | bought Nov 1959 from the Duke of Atholl |
| Collection of Ancient Scots Music by Daniel Dow | Edinburgh, c 1783 | A Collection of Ancient Scots Music for the Violin, Harpsichord or German flute | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list; dedicated to the Duchess of Athole |
| Handel's Suites | London, 1720 or 1733 | Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin, vol 1 pub for author, 1720, several editions. Vol 2 pub Walsh 1733 | ? | in Lady DRB's list |
| The Lady's Banquet | London, c 1732 - 5 | pub Walsh: A Choice Collection of the Newest and Most airy Lessons for the harpsichord or Spinnet: together with Several Opera Aires, Minuets, and Marches, compos'd by Mr Handel, etc. 6 books | ? | in Lady DRB's list |
| Haydn's Scottish Airs | London, 1805 | Haydn: Scotch Songs, Edinburgh 1804? | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list |
| Lampe: Colombine Courtezan | London, 1735 | Walsh: A Collection fo all the Airs, Pastorells, Chacoons, Entre, Jiggs, Minuets and Musette's in Columbine Courtezan | ? | in Lady DRB's list |
| McGlashan's Scots Measures | Edinburgh, 1778 | A McGlashan: A Collection of Scots Measures Hornpipes Jigs Allcmands Cotillions and the Fashionable Country Dances pub N Stewart | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list |
| McGlashan's Reels | Edinburgh, 1778 | A McGlashan: A Collection of Strathspey Reels with a bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord, pub N Stewart | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list |
| Napier's Scots Songs | London, 1790-5 | A Selection of Original Scots Songs in 3 parts, the harmony by Haydn | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list; Lady Amelia Murray on flyleaf |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| Caledonian Pocket Companion | London, [c 1745] | Oswald: Caledonian Pocket Companion vol 1 - 6, pub Simpson | Reid Music Library P5652 | bought Nov 1959 from the Duke of Atholl |
| Psalms and Hymns | ? | Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Foundling's Hospital (London?) | Blair Castle | Lady DRB's list; Charlotte Murray's signature |
| Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances | London, [c 1756(?) or c 1775] | Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances for the Violin, German Flute or lute; 2 vols pub J Rutherford | Blair Castle | in Lady DRB's list |
| Shield: Fontainebleau | London, 1784 | comic opera, pub Longman and Broderip | ? | Lady DRB's list |
| Sibbald's Collection of Catches | Edinburgh, 1780 | A Collection of Catches, canons, glees, duettos &c, in 4 books, pub by J Sibbald | ? | Lady DRB's list |
| A Collection of Catches vol IV | ?Edinburgh c 1780? | Sibbald: A Collection of Catches, Canons, glees, duettos &c, 4 books. Also issued by Stewart, Edinburgh 1780, Longman and Broderip, London, c 1790 | ? | Lady DRB's list |
| Urban's Scotch Songs | Edinburgh, 1792 - c 1800 | A Selection of Scots Songs, 4 books | ? | in Lady DRB's list |
| A Collection of Catches, Canons &c selected by Thomas Warren | *late 18 th century | Warren: Collections of Catches, 1763[?]-93. 32 volumes | ? | In Lady DRB's list |
| Collection of Songs by Dibden, Hook &c | *late 18 th century | ? | ? | In Lady DRB's list |
| Songs by J W Calcott, 1799 | *late 18 th century | ? | Blair Castle | In Lady DRB's list; signed Amelia Murray |
| "Castles in the Air" and other songs of Dibden | *late 18 th century | ? | ? | In Lady DRB's list |
| Scots dance tunes | *late 18 th century | Mainly by Gow, mainly Edinburgh printed editions | Blair Castle | Signed Lady Amelia Murray |
| Polonese, Ballads &c | *late 18 th century | (misc ms and printed keyboard music and song sheets) | Blair Castle | In Lady DRB's list; Charlotte Murray's signature |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|--------------------------------|--|------------------|---|
| Miscellaneous keyboard music | *late 18 th century | Printed editions of sonatas by Clementi, Haydn &c, and songs from London operas | Blair Castle | Lady Amelia Murray |
| MS of Charlotte and Jean | *Late 18 th century | Miscellaneous songs and keyboard music | Blair Castle | |
| MS Guitar Music | Dated 1787 | Scottish and opera songs | Blair Castle | In Lady DRB's list |
| MS keyboard music | *Late 18 th century | Miscellaneous repertoire, including music by Piccini, Pasquali, Garth, Stamitz, Tenucci. Instructions for chord formation. | Blair Castle | |
| MS "music set for Musical Classes" | *Late 18 th century | Scottish tunes and popular marches, etc. | Blair Castle | |
| MS "music Miscellany Charlotte Murray" | Dated 1783 | Keyboard music by Giordani, Alcock etc, + catches, songs, Scottish and Irish tunes etc | Blair Castle | In Lady DRB's list |
| MS Tunes for Guitar and harpsichord | Dated 1767 | Beautifully illustrated, treble clef only. Popular and operatic airs | Blair Castle | Owned by Jane Cathcart, 1 st wife of 4 th Duke. |

Music Owned by the Rose Family of Kilravock Castle

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Abel Periodical Overture | London, [1766] | C F Abel: Periodical Overture no 16 | NLS Mus.E.I.162 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Abel 6 Symphonies op 7 | Amsterdam, 1767 | C F Abel: 6 symphonies for 2 violins, 2 oboes, 2 horns, viola and cello/bass. Johann Julius Hummel, Amsterdam. | NLS Mus.E.I.158 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Abel 6 Quartets op8 | London, 1769 | C F Abel: 6 Quartets, pub Brenner. | NLS Mus.E.I.159 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Abel 6 sonatas pour le clavecin | London, c 1780 | C F Abel: 6 Sonates pour le clavecin avec l'accompagnement d'un violon ou flute traversiere, op 5. | NLS Mus.E.I.178(2) | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Arne Overture in Artaxerxes | London, 1763 | Arne: Artaxerxes, pub Thorowgood and Home, 1763. | NLS Mus.E.I.9 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Avison 6 Sonatas for the Harpsichord | London, 1756 or 1760 | Avison: Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with accompaniments for two violins and violoncello, op 5 pub 1756 – Mus. E. I 114, op 7 pub 1760 | NLS Mus.E.I.178(1) | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| JC Bach 6 concerti pour le clavecin | London, 1763 | JC Bach: 6 concerti pour le clavecin, deux violon & une violoncelle, op 1 | NLS Mus.E.I.178(3) | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| JC Bach Periodical Overture | London, 1766 | JC Bach: Periodical Overture no 15 in D major | NLS Mus.E.I.161 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| JC Bach 6 Symphonies op3 | London, 1765 | J C Bach: 6 Symphonies, oboes, horns and strings | NLS Mus.E.I.160 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Borghi 6 concertos for the violin | London, [?1772] | Luigi Borghi, 6 Concertos, op 2. | NLS Mus.E.I.168 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Dittersdorf Periodical Overture | London 1773 | Periodical Overture 38 in C, in 8 parts | NLS Mus.E.I.179 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|--|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|
| Erskine Periodical Overture | London, [c1766] | Earl of Kelly: Periodical Overture no 17 | NLS Mus.E.I.163 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Fischer Concerto for the Hoboy or German Flute | London, 1780 | J C Fischer: A Favourite Concerto for the Hoboy or Germany Flute with instrumental parts. Pub Longman and Broderip. Duplicate of next item. | NLS Mus.E.I.169 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Fischer Oboe concerto in C | London, [?1768] | J C Fischer: A Favourite Concerto for the Hoboy or Germany Flute with instrumental parts. Pub Welcker. | NLS Mus.E.I.167 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Songs in the Opera call'd Loves Triumph | London, 1714 | Gasparini et al: Songs in the New Opera call'd Love's Triumph, as they are perform'd at the Queen's Theatre, 1 st perf London 1708. Music pub 1708 (?) by Walsh, reprinted 1714 | NLS Mus.E.I.153 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Haydn Symphonies no 75, 47, 43, 53 | London, 1772-1790 | F J Haydn symphonies. No 43 pub before 1772, no 47 pub 1772, both for 2 oboes, horns and strings. No 53 pub ?1778-9, no 75 pub ?1782, both for flute, 2 oboes, horns and strings. | NLS Mus.E.I.171-174 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Piccini La Buona Figliuola Overture | Bologna, 1761 | Piccini: Periodical overture no 20. 2 copies. | NLS Mus.E.I.165 and Mus.E.I.175 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Pugnani 6 Overtures in 8 parts | London, 1768 | Pugnani: 6 Overtures, op 4, pub Welcker | NLS Mus.E.I.155 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Richter Periodical Overture | London, 1767 | F X Richter: Periodical Overture no 18 | NLS Mus.E.I.164 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Schroeter 6 Concertos | London, 1774 | J S Schroeter: 6 Concertos for the harpsichord/pianoforte op 5, pub Napier | NLS Mus.E.I.131 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| Schwindl 6 Simphonies | Amsterdam, c 1765 | Schwindl: 6 Simphonies a deux violons, deux hautbois et deux cornes de chasses, taille et Basse, op 1 and op2. | NLS Mus.E.I.156-7 | Sold to the NLS, 1971 |
| ms Tessarini: Sonate a Due Violino | Dated 1739 | Probably Il maestro discepolo, divertimenti da camera, for 2 violin, op 2, pub Urbino, 1734 | NLS MS 21849 | "1739 scrip". Owned by Hugh Rose 1744-7 |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Present Location | Notes |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|--|------------------------|--|
| Duets for 2 violins | c 1780 | 6 printed editions bound together with duets by Borghi, Shield (2 sets), Blake, Eichner and Kernl | NLS Mus.E.1.132-3 | |
| ms Quartet books | mid-eighteenth century | 12 Sinfonie by Gallo, op 2; 6 sonatas for 2 flutes by Agrell, op 3; Duets, Quartos and Trios by the Earl of Kelly. 4 books | NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4) | Sold to NLS by c 1991 (via D Johnson) |
| ms[teaching books] | *c 1760-1790 | Violin duets and sonatas, keyboard pieces, arias, guitar music etc. See appendix 4 for full details | NLS MS Acc 11420 (1-3) | Bought by the NLS from Travis and Emery bookdealers, 1997 |
| ms volume of operatic airs | dated 1738 | melody line only, no words - arranged for violin? Hasse, Porpora, Handel, Vinci mainly. Also "Variations on a gigue of Corelli's by Mr McGibbon" | NLS 21748 | "Hugh Rose of Geddes Esqr at Kilrock 1738 Novr 25" on flyleaf. |

5.2 Genres of Music Popular in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

Almost every genre of music known in the eighteenth century is represented in this sample of Scottish music collections, from operas, glees and catches to solo keyboard suites, accompanied instrumental sonatas, concertos, quartets, symphonies and overtures. Some trends are observable, and these give important insights into the nature of domestic music-making in eighteenth-century Scotland.

The bar chart on p. 191 shows an analysis of the music collections by genre as a percentage of the total number of items in the collection. Each item in the music collection listings has been assigned to one of these categories:

Keyboard music (solo)

Opera

Small-scale vocal music: cantatas and songs (up to two performers)

Large-scale vocal music: duets, glees, catches (three or more performers)

Small-scale instrumental chamber music: solo and duo sonatas

Large-scale instrumental chamber³³ music: trio sonatas, quartets, concertos, overtures

For several reasons the categorisation of the music collections by genre is problematic. Firstly, a small number of unknown or unidentified items could not (usually) be assigned to any category, and have had to be omitted. Secondly, some volumes listed as one item contain many pieces of different genres (for example, the manuscript collections of miscellaneous songs, keyboard music, duets and instrumental music acquired by the Rose and Grant families); these have been assigned to the category with the most frequently-represented genre. Thirdly, the results may be inaccurate because collections consisting predominantly of printed music have been recorded as individual items, while collections which are mainly manuscript have been listed in the tables by volume, citing the general repertoire of each manuscript. Thus, a single item may represent thirty or forty pieces of music in some cases. Comparisons are however possible, because the number of items of each genre have been expressed as a percentage of the total number of items.

³³ Symphonies, concertos and overtures have been included in chamber music alongside trio sonatas and quartets on the grounds that larger-scale music of this date can satisfactorily be performed one to a part (ie chamber music) and most probably was performed in this manner in country houses such as Kilravock and Monymusk.

The final, and perhaps most major problem with the categorisation of the music collections by genre is that the listings given on pp. 161 - 184 cannot be regarded as exhaustive. More music may turn up from some of the collections, and it is also possible that some of the eighteenth-century music which has been included was in fact acquired in the nineteenth century, or later, and obviously would be a poor indication of eighteenth-century taste. Despite the drawbacks in the categorisation of the music by genre, some very important trends have been observed, and a sufficiently large volume of music has been assessed to render the results broadly accurate, if not precise to the last percentage.

Six of the nine families surveyed owned more instrumental chamber music than music of any other genre, and it is interesting to compare these through the century. Two thirds of the earliest music collection, that of the Maule family, was music for instrumental ensemble, mainly short pieces for viol or violin and bass. The collections of Lord Colville of Ochiltree and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik both date from the first three decades of the eighteenth century and consist mainly of solo and trio sonatas and some concerto grossi; instrumental chamber music accounts for about four fifths, and two thirds of these collections respectively. The later libraries – those of the Grants and the Roses – contain much bigger works: instrumental music in the Kilravock library (four fifths of the total) consists of symphonies and concertos in as many as eight parts. The Grants of Monymusk also accumulated a number of large works (at least fourteen symphonies or overtures) – again about seven tenths of the collection was for instrumental ensemble. There is marginally more chamber music than keyboard music in the listing for the Wemyss family, but this is mostly small scale – solo sonatas (violin and bass or cello and bass) or duets for two instruments.

The favoured solo instruments seem to have remained the same throughout the century: violin and flute feature as strongly in the collections of Colville and Clerk as in the Earl of Wemyss' library. Cello also was evidently commonly played throughout the century, being a necessary part of all baroque groupings, and being identified as a solo instrument in the later collections (eg Gosford House).

It has been suggested by David Johnson that chamber music was mainly performed by males, who met outwith the home to perform overtures, trio sonatas and other "social" music, while vocal and keyboard music, requiring usually one or two performers, were

the domain of women, within the home.³⁴ The fact that so much chamber music was owned suggests however that this was used as much as vocal music in domestic settings, and instances have been noted of females learning traditionally “male” instruments,³⁵ and being involved in domestic performance of chamber music. The results presented in the chart may however provide new evidence for the gender-discrimination of instruments, in that the families which owned high percentages of chamber music had enthusiastic males at the centre of the music-making – for example, the Clerks of Penicuik, the Maules of Panmure, Lord Colville of Ochiltree. This is also true of the library of George Skene of Skene, another bachelor landowner from Aberdeenshire.³⁶ In the families such as the Baillies of Mellerstain where domestic music-making was dominated by women, other genres of music, and especially vocal and keyboard music, feature more prominently in the music libraries.

The vocal music collected at the beginning of the century consisted mainly of solo cantatas and arias, whilst concerted vocal music, especially catches, was embraced by some Scottish families later in the eighteenth century. A small number of collections of psalm and hymn tunes were to be found in music libraries throughout the century, and Lord Colville’s collection is notable for its collection of 24 volumes of Latin sacred vocal music.³⁷

³⁴ Johnson’s view is disputed on p. 118 above.

³⁵ for example, daughters of the Hope and Baillie families. See above, section 4.1.2

³⁶ R Turbet: *The Music Collection of George Skene of Skene*

³⁷ Some of this is old: there are sixteenth century editions of Lassus’ sacred songs, and Gianelli’s madrigals, and these might have been inherited by Lord Colville, either from an older family member, or as part of a music collection established by someone else and perhaps purchased by Colville. However, the inclusion of ten volumes of Latin sacred vocal music by Bassani (c 1657-1716), which was surely purchased by Colville in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, is enigmatic in strictly-Presbyterian Scotland. Catholicism was strictly outlawed in Scotland, and the fear of the growth of popery led to penal laws in the 1670’s which excluded Catholics from civil office and enforced the Protestant education of the children of Catholic families. Catholics were a race apart, cut off from social and business intercourse with Protestant neighbours, and continually persecuted economically, if not by physical violence. Catholics could not inherit property without renouncing their faith, and the names of “Popish” families were presented to the Privy Council and the General Assembly in 1701-1705. Persecution was stepped up after the first failed Jacobite rising of 1708, when all Catholic nobility and gentry were summoned to court and accused of treason. Protestant fanaticism in the wake of the subsequent Jacobite risings led to Catholic noblemen being imprisoned and fined, and to the houses of Catholics accused of harbouring priests being ransacked (see Peter Anson: *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland*). Colville’s family had attracted attention for Catholic activities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see John Durcan: “Three Manuscripts with Fife Associations” in *Innes Review* vol. 20), and the *Scots Peerage* makes reference to the imprisonment of Lord Robert Colville’s mother in Edinburgh in 1684 for “bringing up her son in fanaticism and disloyalty”; since the Catholic penal laws had been introduced in the 1670’s, it could be conjectured that Lady Coville brought the 3rd Lord Colville up as a Catholic, rather than as a strict

Collections of printed Scottish songs are to be found in the later libraries (especially Blair Atholl and Gosford) but not, surprisingly, to any extent in the collections from early in the eighteenth century. Most Scottish manuscripts (for example those in the Advocates' Library) dating from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century consist almost exclusively of indigenous Scottish music, and there were certainly printed collections available from the mid 1720's. It may be, as Johnson suggests,³⁸ that the landed classes knew the Scottish airs and words already, and had no need for written copies. Or perhaps they deliberately cultivated a taste for art music, and were later swept along in the tide of romanticism that sought to preserve traditional Scottish culture in the later eighteenth century.

The number of operas and word books owned by Scottish landed families is surprising. There was no tradition of operas in Scotland until late in the eighteenth century, and there was little possible use for complete opera scores in domestic performance (though use must have been made of the many individual operatic arias which appear in the manuscripts of the Baillies of Mellerstain). The presence of so many opera scores must indicate contact with operatic culture outwith Scotland, and a large proportion of the operas owned by Scottish families was written for the London stage. Presumably these were seen there, or further afield, and the scores were brought to Scotland but probably received little further attention.

Preferences in keyboard music seem to have undergone less change in Scotland, though the harpsichord or spinet were obviously the normal instruments at the beginning of the eighteenth century, while there are several collections of piano music

Protestant (as suggested by N H Walker in *The Seven Castles in Kinross-shire*, p. 44). Furthermore, Colville is listed as a non-Jurant (someone who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the – Protestant – monarch) in the Portland manuscripts (HMC 29, vol. 5), which again suggests suspicious religious allegiance.

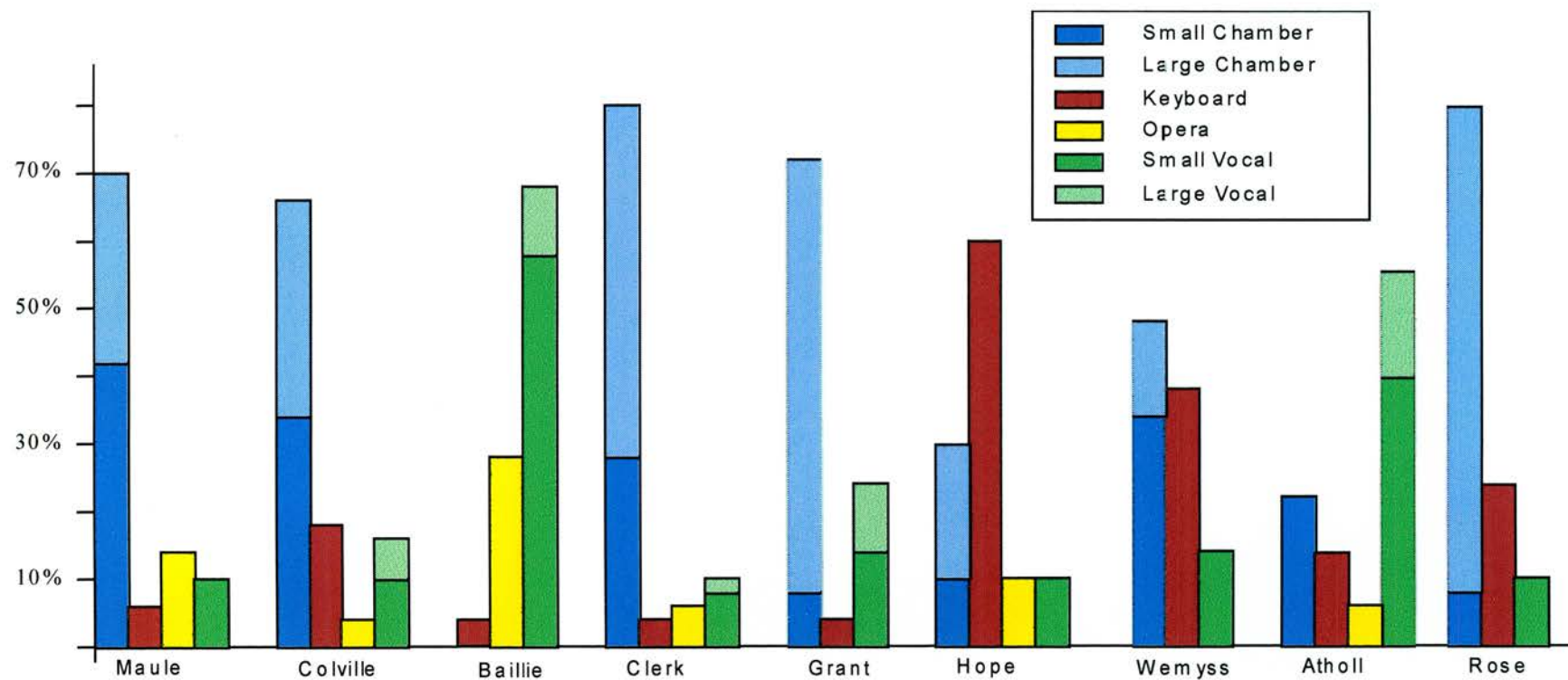
Clearly the 3rd Lord Colville of Ochiltree could not openly have held allegiance to the Catholic faith, as a landowner and as a member of both the Scottish and British parliaments. But the evidence in the music collection would suggest that he was perhaps a "closet" Catholic, and if indeed he spent much time abroad, he would have had plenty of opportunity to practise his faith openly. Further musical evidence of Colville's Catholic allegiance is found in the considerable number of items in his music collection by Paisible, Draghi and Finger who were employed at the English Chapel Royal under the Catholic King James VII.

³⁸ *Music in Society* pp. 17, 19. Johnson cites the specific example of Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*, which was published in a words-only version in 1723, as evidence that the upper class knew the seventy-two tunes which went with the songs; however, the *Music to Accompany the Tea Table Miscellany* was published three years later, perhaps implying that the tunes were necessary for performance.

featuring in the later music libraries. Sets of keyboard “lessons” appear in most of the libraries, and there are also arrangements of orchestral or vocal music in many of the later collections.

The most popular genres of music are evidently vocal and chamber music. The fact that more than one musician is necessary for the performance of music of these genres underlines the fact that music was a social skill in Scotland; conversely, there is very little solo keyboard music, which would have been performed in isolation.

Figure 5.1 Genres in Music Libraries as Percentage of Total Collection



5.3 Repertoire and Taste

The genres of music in the collections suggest that the Scottish landowners were up-to-date in their musical taste. They moved with the rest of Europe from viol consort music to trio sonatas and concerti grossi and on to string quartets and symphonies, and they seem to have kept pace with changes in musical style. As was suggested in section 4.3, the sons of landowners became acquainted with music by modern continental composers, and some of the music collections surveyed include music which was probably brought back by young men from the Grand Tour. Up-to-date Italian baroque music was introduced to Scotland by the 1690's and music by Italian composers enjoyed huge popularity for the first half of the eighteenth century, as can be seen in the graph on p. 195. The percentage of music by composers of four nationalities (Italian, French, Scottish and other) has been plotted for each collection, and the music libraries have been dated very approximately.

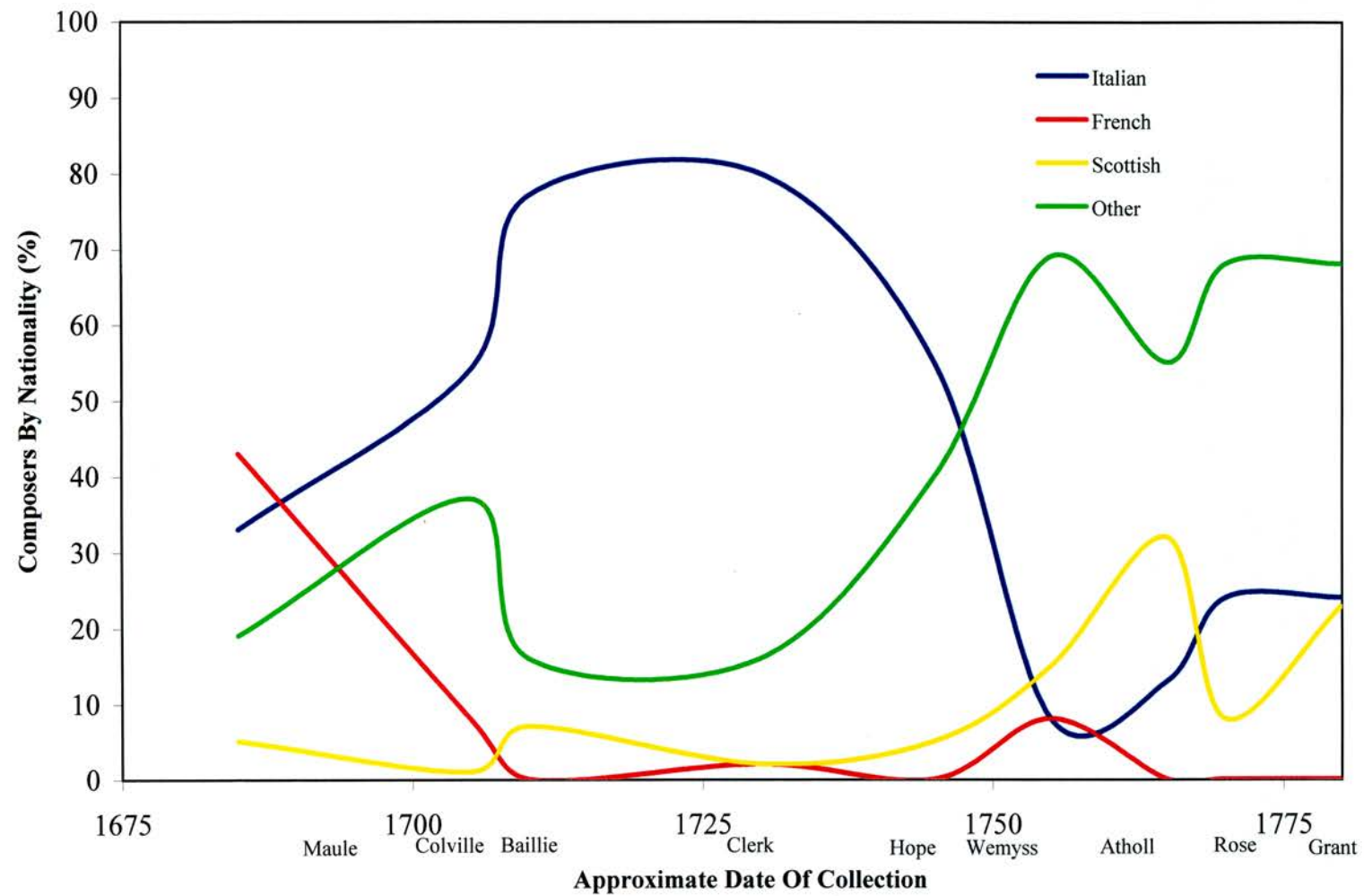
Music in a French style was predominant in one of the early collections, that of the Maules of Panmure, but interest in this dropped sharply in inverse proportion to the rise of Italian music. Three of the early (pre-1730) collections consist mainly of music by Italian composers. The Baillie collection is mainly vocal, and features music by the Bononcini, the Scarlattis, Pergolesi, Steffani and other Italian composers of opera and cantatas. The collections of Clerk and Colville are dominated by instrumental music by Italian composers such as Corelli, Torelli, Albinoni, Tartini, Tassarini and Valentini. The sharp rise in popularity of Italian music observable in these three libraries mirrors developments across Britain and cannot merely be attributed to the personal taste of the three families; Italian musicians were sought-after in London from the early years of the eighteenth century; music by Italians swamped concert programmes, and compositions in the Italian style became the ideal.

Music by English and German composers has been included under the heading "other", though it could be argued that many of them, most notably Handel, were writing in 'Italian' style. Libraries from the second half of the eighteenth century favoured music by Galant and Classical composers like JC Bach, Pleyel and Haydn, all of whom feature in the "other" category.

Even some of the music included in the Scottish category might more appropriately have been designated 'Italian': McGibbon and Foulis both aspired to a modern Italian

style, and the former even titled one of his trio sonatas "In imitation of Corelli". Most of the music in the Scottish category comprises arrangements of traditional songs and tunes; as can be seen from the graph, few families show any great interest in these. However, as might be expected, more collections of Scottish music were acquired in the later eighteenth century, when there was a move to preserve traditional Scottish dialect and culture. The Atholl family's interest in Scottish music in the second half of the century is notable; the 4th Duke of Atholl was one of the founder members of the Highland Society of London, which was formed in 1778 to "preserve the martial spirit, language, dress, music and antiquities of the ancient Caledonia".

Figure 5.2 Nationalities of Composers as a Percentage of Music Collections



5.4 Acquisition of Music

Specific information on the purchase of certain items of music was given in Chapter 2; the following paragraphs supplement this by tracing more general trends in the acquisition of music by the families under survey. Perhaps of most relevance to the present study is the question of when, and therefore by whom, each library was established.³⁹ The earliest collections under survey are all relatively straightforward, corresponding to the adult lifespan of the central characters in each family. Items in the Panmure library date from 1680 to 1720;⁴⁰ it has already been noted that James Maule, 4th Earl of Panmure, was the main collector, and he evidently acquired the music throughout his life. Similarly, the only person who could have been responsible for the Ochiltree music collection was the 3rd Lord Colville, and most items in the library date from his adult years – approximately 1680-1730.⁴¹ The music collection at Mellerstain dates mainly from the first three decades of the eighteenth century, and might have been acquired by the elder Lady Grisell Baillie (who died in 1746) and/or by her daughter Lady Murray of Stanhope (died 1759); the fact that the younger of the two was known as a singer might suggest she was more active in the purchase of the music.

Though items in each of the other music collections cover a much wider timescale, in some cases the majority of the acquisitions were made within a twenty-year period, and from this it might be conjectured who was mainly responsible for acquiring the collection, in the absence of documentary evidence. The majority of the items in, for example, the Kilravock music library date from the last three decades of the eighteenth century, leading to the conclusion that the 18th baron and his sister were the main acquirers.

Slightly more items in the Clerk music collection date from c. 1730-50 than from the first thirty years in the eighteenth century, and though the 2nd Baronet is known to have

³⁹ Theoretically, establishing a timespan for each library should simply entail identifying the publication dates of the earliest and latest items in the collection. However, the cited publication dates are the first editions of each volume, which in many instances is not the edition owned; in any case, items were not necessarily acquired in the year of publication, and could conceivably have been purchased many years after the date cited for publication in the library listings.

⁴⁰ As noted above, there are items in the collection dating from earlier in the 17th century (listed in Appendix 6) but these are known to have belonged to earlier generations of the Maule family.

⁴¹ Given Lord Colville's wide-ranging taste in music, it is possible that the earlier items, listed in Appendix 6, may have been purchased by the 3rd Lord Colville, as opposed to being inherited from an ancestor.

bought music in the early part of the century, it is possible that the collection was added to by James, his son, latterly.⁴²

Items dating from throughout the eighteenth century appear in both the Hope and Wemyss collections. In the latter case, 6 items date from 1760-75, when Francis Charteris was known to be active as a patron and member of the Edinburgh Musical Society; some of the remaining items in the collection dating from earlier in the century were inherited from the Duchess of Gordon.

Though only a small number of items in the Hope library were actually published in the 1750's and 60's, it is known that this is when the bulk of the items listed were acquired, for Lady Betty and Lady Harriet. The publishing dates of several of the items acquired in the 1750's are about thirty years earlier, which might have led to the assumption that the collection was acquired c 1730-50, but may probably in fact indicate that the Hope family was rather conservative in its choice of music, preferring familiar repertoire which had remained popular for a number of years to buying new and unknown compositions.

There is no observable increase in the size of the music collections bought at the end of the century in comparison to the earlier collections. More items were acquired by Lord Colville in the early eighteenth century than by any other known collector in Scotland over the period, and the more modest libraries are roughly equivalent in size from the first and second halves of the century.

The question of how and where Scottish landowners acquired music has, once again, a range of answers. It was noted in Chapter 4 that music was among the items which might be brought home by young men on the Grand Tour of Europe, and there is circumstantial evidence that many items in the Panmure music collection was acquired in this way.⁴³ The many foreign manuscripts and printed works in the Ochiltree library may also have been acquired by Colville on a foreign tour, but due to the lack of biographical information, it has been impossible to ascertain when, if at all, Lord

⁴² Details of James' extravagant outlays on music in Rome in the 1730's were cited on p. 55.

⁴³ As noted on p. 144, the ten manuscripts of French viol music (known to have been in Scotland by 1685 as they appear in the list of 'books left in Edinburgh') could scarcely have been procured otherwise than during the Grand Tour undertaken by James and Harie in the preceding 7 years: the music of Verdier, referred to below (p. 205) was also almost certainly procured in France. The bill for the freight of viols (referred to on p. 144) might constitute further evidence that the French operatic music and viol music was probably shipped to Scotland by the young men on their return home.

Colville was abroad. Of course the foreign material in Colville's music collection may have been imported by someone else and bought by Colville, as with the opera by D Scarlatti and four books of songs which were "brought from Italy by Mr Michael Kincaid" (as stated in the catalogue for the sale of Colville's library); equally Colville may have instructed an agent to purchase items for him and send them to Scotland. It was certainly not uncommon for aristocrats to commission foreign or London booksellers to acquire items: George Skene of Skene directed the Dutch bookseller Adriaan Moetjens to purchase books for him, and this may have been how some of the foreign music in Skene's library was acquired.⁴⁴ Sir John Clerk of Penicuik also bought his music via a London agent in the first decade of the eighteenth century, as was noted in Chapter 2 above. From the letter⁴⁵ which the London merchant sent to Clerk (quoted on p. 54) it can be conjectured that Livingston either purchased items on his own initiative or wrote to offer Clerk suitable new music, rather than Clerk writing with a list of items which he desired. Clerk evidently had the music on credit, for Livingston states, "I have according to y[ou]r order that when it came to twenty or thirty shill I should draw upon you for it".

The purchasing policy of other families seems to have been rather more informal. James Maule seems simply on occasion to have bargained for a copy of the music for a performance he had attended, regardless of whether he would have the opportunity to perform the work himself. In 1717 he happened to arrive in Pesaro in time to hear Tinazzoli's pastiche opera *Anagilda*; not only did Maule somehow procure the entire score, complete with scribbled amendments for the Pesaro performance, he also acquired a separate first violin part, which however is in pristine condition and lacks the cuts and other amendments in the score. The Hope family's acquisition policy may also have been opportunistic: several of the items acquired in the 1750's were by composers such as Santo Lapis⁴⁶ and Pasquali who happened to be working in Edinburgh, and with whom the family would have been acquainted.

Surprisingly, the proportion of manuscript to printed material in the music collections does not change much throughout the century. The collections dating from early in the

⁴⁴ R Turbet: "The Music Collection of George Skene of Skene". *Brio*, vol 32 no.1, pp. 24-27

⁴⁵ GD 18/2173/1

⁴⁶ According to Alfred Loewenberg and Michael Robinson's article on the composer in *New Grove*, Santo Lapis visited Edinburgh in 1763, playing harpsichord in a performance of Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona*, having already spent at least two years in London (1758 - 60) and four in Amsterdam (1752-6).

century, which might have been expected to contain a large percentage of manuscripts, in fact consist mainly of printed music; the collections dating from the second half of the century contain a significant number of manuscripts. The purpose of manuscripts changed: the most feasible way of obtaining music in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was commissioning someone to copy it by hand, and there are several references in the Baillie Household Books to music being procured in this way:

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|----------|
| Novr 25 1716 | For copping a musick book [Bath] | £1 1s 6d |
| March 8 1717 | [London] For writing Musick | £1 1s 6d |
| July 30 1717 | [London] For copping songs by Bernackie | 12s |
| Aug 2 1718 | [London] For copping musick for Mr Bain | 5s 6d |
| Aug 2 1718 | [London] For a book from the herper | 3s |
| Decm ^r 22 1720 | [London] copiing Musick 4£ 14s 6d more 1s 6d | £5 |

More music was acquired by the Baillie family while they were in Italy in 1731-33: again there are many references to copying, (including music by Corelli) in the account books. Which of the manuscript volumes are referred to in the music copying accounts is open to conjecture - the make-up of the manuscripts in the Reid Music Library certainly suggests that music was often copied for the family a piece at a time, and bound into volumes at a later date.

By the mid-eighteenth century manuscripts were used mainly as a personal record of favourite songs and short instrumental tunes, or as a convenient store of diverse pieces used by a teacher. The manuscripts owned by the Rose, Atholl and Grant families come mainly into these latter categories, and a discharge for copying such a manuscript exists among the Hopetoun muniments:⁴⁷

⁴⁷ NRAS 888 box 65 bundle 2

Lady Betty Hope Del^d. To — Anthony Werner
 for writing y^e following Musick viz.
 an Italian Lesson for y^e Harpsicord. in G. 2-6
 Lesson of Doct^r. Green in D. 0-2-3
 Sonata per il Cembalo of Stanley . . . in D. 0-1-6
 Sonata per il Cembalo of Kellery . . . in A 0-3-0
 Sonata per il Cembalo. of Pescetty . . . in G 0-3-6
 Overture of Smiths Lessons. 1st Volum . . . 0-3-0
 A Conc^o for y^e Harpsicord of Stanley . . . 0-2-6
 1st & last movement of Smiths Lesson. 2^d Vol. . 0-2-3
 Sonata per il Cembalo. Da Pietro van Maldere. 0-2-0
 1-2-6.

Rec^d the Contents of this Bill
 in full & all demands by me

Anthony Werner.

Though it has been difficult to ascertain exactly which pieces were copied for Lady Betty, this discharge conveys much information about copying practices in London. Clearly the copyist (about whom no information has been found) was instructed by Keeble to make copies of a few specific pieces rather than entire publications, and from the fact that Werner has charged separately for each piece it could be surmised that they were copied at different times on separate manuscript leaves, as opposed to being entered consecutively into an already-bound manuscript book.

By the later eighteenth century manuscripts were mainly used to store diverse favourite pieces or teaching repertoire; however there are a few examples of owners apparently commissioning a copyist to supply versions of sets of pieces by a particular composer, as would have been normal a century before. The Kilravock collection includes manuscript copies of string quartets, trios and duets by the Earl of Kelly, copied consecutively into four part books by a single scribe, which suggests that Hugh Rose commissioned someone to record all of Erskine's string chamber music. These part books are the only extant source of most of Thomas Erskine's work, and the Rose family's role in their preservation is laudable, if unintentional!

5.5 Significant Items

A number of items in the collections of music acquired by the landowning families are significant, either as rare or sole extant copies of a publication, or as a source of information on previously unknown works. The following sections make brief mention of some of the most important of these significant or unusual items.

Lord Colville's music library included several unique items, and it is disappointing that the subsequent whereabouts of these cannot be traced from the sales catalogue. Torelli's op 7, listed in the sales catalogue as "Twelve Solos for the Violin", is unknown: there is no other extant copy, and even the identity of the work is not cited in standard reference works. A number of other obvious rarities were owned by Colville: the "six sonatas falsely called Corelli's Opera op 4, the original copy", a manuscript concerto grosso by Corelli "never printed", and "the original copy of a solo by Mr Pepush composed in an Hour and six Minutes".

Among the items which have been omitted from the list of Colville's music (see Appendix 6, p. 326, for full details) are two very interesting items: "ms Mr Bayne's works" and "ms Adam Craig's works". It is encouraging to see that both these Scottish composers had a sizeable output, and that a musical connoisseur of Colville's stature was sufficiently involved in musical activities in Edinburgh to have acquired copies of music by his associates. "21 pieces of music by Baron Clerk" can only refer to compositions by John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik (see Chapter 6), and the lack of information on these in the sale catalogue is extremely frustrating. They have been (perhaps arbitrarily) listed in the vocal section of Colville's music library (see Appendix 5) on the assumption that the five surviving cantatas (see p. 226) may have been among the 21 pieces – of course, the repertoire by Clerk owned by Colville might well have been instrumental chamber music or keyboard music. The inclusion of Kremberg's songs among Colville's music collection is also interesting: it has been noted (pp. 95 and 116) that the Polish composer was working in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Colville would certainly have known him through the informal Edinburgh musical society which was meeting in Steill's Tavern in the early eighteenth century (see p. 117). It is uncertain whether Colville owned a copy of Kremberg's Dresden publication of songs, or if this was a manuscript collection compiled by the composer for Colville.

Three of the printed editions of keyboard music owned by Lord Colville apparently pre-date the earliest known copies, since the date of the sale catalogue is 1728. The first edition of Blow's Psalms was believed to have been Walsh's (London, 1731), while the dates for Bononcini's *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin* and Richard Jones' *Suits or Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* are given as c 1735 and 1732 respectively in the bibliography of John Walsh.⁴⁸ The manuscript copy of Sandoni's lessons (assumed to be keyboard) may also be early – Sandoni's *6 Setts of Harpsichord Lessons* were published in London around 1745, and Colville's manuscript may have included early versions of these.

It is possible that some of the manuscript collections of Italian vocal music owned by Lord Colville may have been purchased by the Baillie family. The descriptions of eight manuscripts of cantatas by Bononcini, Scarlatti, Mancini, Gasparini and Steffani (three of which are described as "Roman manuscripts" in the sale catalogue) is very reminiscent of the musical tastes of the Baillies of Mellerstain. None of the extant Baillie manuscripts in the Reid library show signs of a bookplate or signature of Lord Colville, and permission was not granted to consult the second account book of Lady Grisell Baillie (at Mellerstain) to check for any indication that the Baillies might have attended the auction of Colville's music collection.

Three of the Reid Library manuscripts formerly owned by the Baillie family are important sources of repertoire by the Italian composer Giuseppe Sandoni, as shown in figure 5.3. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, Sandoni was employed to teach Lady Murray while the Baillie family was resident in London in 1719 to 1721, and it can be assumed that the 11 cantatas and 3 arias by him were added to the Baillie manuscripts about this time. The three arias are the only known music for any of Sandoni's stage works. The Baillie manuscripts are the sole source of six cantatas; the remaining five cantatas in the Baillie manuscripts also appear in a 1727 printed volume (a copy of which is held in the British Library) and in a manuscript in the Mackworth Music Collection in Cardiff University.

⁴⁸ Humphries and Smith: *Bibliography of John Walsh 1721 – 1766*, pp. 51 and 197

Figure 5.3 Sources of Sandoni's Cantatas

- Reid Music Library MS P1434, P1436, (Baillie collection)
- British library E.18: *6 Cantatas da camera e 3 sonatas per il cembalo Dedicate a sua Eccellenza La Sig^{ra} Contessa di Pembroke da Pier Giuseppe Sandoni*, printed London, c1727
- Cardiff University MS M.C.1.7 Manuscript containing Italian cantatas by Sandoni and one aria by Handel.

| Cantata | Source | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Amore, amor</i> | | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Benche porti nel volto</i> | | London 1727 | |
| <i>Bianchi luci io vi raviso</i> | Baillie P1434 | | |
| <i>Chi Sintende d'amour</i> | | London 1727 | |
| <i>Del timor D'un cor geloso</i> | Baillie P1434 | | |
| <i>Dimmi, crudel dov'è</i> | Baillie P1436 | | |
| <i>Due begl'occhi</i> | Baillie P1434 | | |
| <i>D'una vaga collinetta</i> | Baillie P1434 | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Évoi pur liete l'ombre</i> | Baillie P1434 | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Épartito il mio tesoro</i> | Baillie P1434 | | |
| <i>Lascio il core</i> | | London 1727 | |
| <i>Non arrossir Crudele</i> | | London 1727 | |
| <i>Non far la superbetta</i> | Baillie P1434 | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Pallida nel sembiante giacea</i> | | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Povero mio pensier</i> | Baillie P1434 | London 1727 | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Sei bella em'ine mori</i> | | London 1727 | |
| <i>S'io potessi le belle pupille</i> | | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Son certa del tuo ben</i> | Baillie P1434 | | Cardiff MC1.7 |
| <i>Sono amante e la mia bella</i> | Baillie P1434 | | |

Baillie manuscript P1436 also contains the only known source of music by Alexander Bayne, whose activities as an amateur composer and president of the Edinburgh Musical Society are detailed in Chapter 6. Reference is made to copying music “for Mr Bain” in the Baillie Household accounts (cited above, p. 200), which may refer to additional music written by Bayne.

There are ten manuscripts of French viol music dating from the late seventeenth century in the Panmure collection which, as aforementioned, include many unique pieces by Marais and Sainte-Colombe. Thirteen of the 111 bass viol pieces by Sainte-Colombe in NLS mss 9468-9 were identified by Paul Hooreman as solo arrangements of pieces in the third surviving source of Sainte-Colombe’s music (a manuscript in The French Bibliotheque Nationale entitled *Concerts a Deux Violes Esgales*). The Panmure manuscripts of viol music by Marin Marais pre-date⁴⁹ the printed volumes of Marais’ *Pieces a Une et a Deux Violes* (1686, 1701, 1711, 1717, 1725), and in fact may be the earliest known sources of Marais’ music.⁵⁰ Two further books of music by Marais and Sainte-Colombe were listed among the Panmure music in the 1685 catalogue of books left at Edinburgh but are no longer extant; these would surely have considerably augmented our knowledge of the work of these masters.

The book of music by Verdier, also listed in the 1685 catalogue, is another tantalising loss. Biographical details on the family of French court musicians is sparse, and no music survives in French manuscripts. The only known Verdier compositions are by Pierre (died 1706) who was employed in the Swedish court from c 1646, and whose known output is four-part dance music, and some vocal music. The Maule volume is likely to have contained music of one of the less-well-known members of the family who were still resident in Paris in the 1680’s.

The last items to be added to the Panmure collection, the Italian trio sonatas and the manuscript copies of the Italian opera and arias, appear to have been acquired by James, 4th Earl, who spent the last seven years of his life at the exile court of James VI, in St Germain and latterly at Modena in Italy. *A Journal by Dr Blair from Avignon to*

⁴⁹ They were in the Maule collection by 1685 (listed in GD 45/27/130)

⁵⁰ This point is made by Patrick Cadell in his article “La Musique Francaise Classique dans la collection des Comtes de Panmure” in *Recherches sur la Musique Francaise Classique* vol XXII 1984. Cadell discusses the repertoire of all the French manuscripts in some detail, though he does not give a complete catalogue of the contents of the manuscripts, and has published the paper only with the intention of bringing these manuscripts to the attention of researchers of French music.

*Pesaro in Company with the Earle of Panmure*⁵¹ confirms that the Earl was in Pesaro by 23 March, and would thus have been able to acquire the manuscript for an opera named *Anagilda* which, according to the flyleaf of the manuscript, was performed in Pesaro in March 1717. This manuscript is undoubtedly unique, representing an unrecorded staging of an unknown version of the opera: the only two operas known to have been performed in Pesaro in this year were *La Fedene tradimenti* and *Il Podesta di Colognole*.⁵² And the only pre-1717 versions of *Anagilda* listed by Sartori are both by Caldara, one in Rome in 1711 and one in Perugia in 1713.⁵³ The version of *Anagilda* in the Panmure collection is clearly a pastiche opera, with 42 recits and 26 arias. Fourteen of the arias are attributed to Tinazzoli, two to Bononcini, and one to each of Aresti, Gasparini, Perti, Albinoni, Calvi, Sabatini and Critiera. Most of these composers were working in northern Italy around 1717, and it seems likely that the Pesaro staging of *Anagilda* was compiled, probably by Tinazzoli, from locally-known music. Tinazzoli is known to have directed the opera in Pesaro in 1721-2, and could well have been working in the town four years prior to this date.

A further two Italian arias now among the Panmure manuscripts were also apparently acquired by James Maule. *Segue il fido la Rondinella* is lacking in musical interest, and has "Bologna, Novemb: 1717" marked on the front; the operas performed in Bologna in 1717 include *La Merope* in the Theatre Formagliari in autumn; *Il Campidoglio aperto al trionfo degl'affeti e dell'armie* (Collegio de Nobili di S Francesco Saverio, no date), *Il Don Pilone o Il Baccettone falso*, and *Santa Rosa di Lime*, both undated.⁵⁴ In the absence of libretti (in the UK) it has not been possible to establish from which of these works the aria is part. The second aria, *Quive il corse nudo il chiedi*, is of a much better quality, but is not listed in any operatic reference work, and in the absence of any date or inscription on the manuscript it has not proved possible to establish of which work this aria is part.

As was noted in section 3.5, five publications (by Barsanti, Schetky, Foulis and Carusi) were dedicated to Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss, or members of his immediate family. It is interesting to note that the copies of the Foulis violin sonatas and the Schetky cello sonatas in the Wemyss collection do not bear any inscription to suggest

⁵¹ GD 45/26/74

⁵² C Sartori: *Il libretti Italiani a stampa dalle originie al 1800*, ed Bertola and Locatelli

⁵³ C Sartori: *Il Libretti Italiani a stampa dalle originie al 1800*

⁵⁴ C Sartori: *Il Libretti Italiani a stampa dalle originie al 1800*. These are in addition to two operas in spring time, one on Palm Sunday and two in Carnival.

they were dedication copies, and there are no copies of the two works by Barsanti dedicated to the Wemyss family at Gosford. The volume of trio sonatas by Carusi is even more surprising: though it is dedicated to Francis Charteris, the copy now at Gosford bears the bookplate of Henrietta Gordon, mother of the wife of Francis Charteris, and was obviously acquired by the Wemyss family through marriage. This work does not appear in any standard musical bibliographical work, nor is Carusi mentioned in Grove, Baptie, or other reference works. However there is a reference to Signor Carusi playing a salterio or psaltery at a concert in Edinburgh in 1750, cited by Farmer in a discussion of instruments in vogue in Scotland.⁵⁵ This Italian musician must have written the pieces c 1750 and dedicated them to Francis Charteris, presumably in return for financial assistance towards their publication; suffice to say it is a very rare and valuable volume.

There is one rare item extant among the music at Blair Castle: Daniel Dow's *Collection of Ancient Scots Music*, which was dedicated to Charlotte, wife of the 3rd Duke of Atholl. Only a single surviving copy of this is listed in RISM and BUCEM (that held by the National Library of Scotland). Not only has the Blair Castle copy come to light in the course of this research, but a third copy was found coincidentally on a visit to Megginch Castle, Perthshire (the ancestral home of the Drummonds of Megginch). This third copy appears in fact to be the presentation copy: it has a written inscription to "Her Grace the Duchess of Atholle". Presumably, Charlotte Murray, eldest daughter of the 4th Duke of Atholl, who married Adam, 7th Laird of Megginch, was responsible for taking her grandmother's volume to Megginch.

⁵⁵ H Farmer: *History of Music in Scotland*, p. 281

5.6 Summary of Trends in Music Libraries

From this survey of landowners' collections of music it can be seen that the families under survey were informed and up-to-date in their musical taste. They favoured music which was current in London and the continent, and kept abreast of new genres of music. Rather than clinging to the monodic airs which form the mainstay of seventeenth-century Scottish manuscripts, the landowners acquired songs from current operas, and progressed from viol consorts to trio sonatas and concerti grossi then to symphonies, overtures and quartets. The predominance of works for three, four or more people is salutary confirmation that large-scale domestic music-making was common in Scotland.

The music collections seem mainly to have been acquired by one member of the family, and it is interesting to note that keyboard and vocal music feature more strongly in the libraries which were purchased by females, such as Lady Amelia Murray of Atholl and Lady Grisell Murray of Stanhope (Baillie collection). Conversely, the collections acquired by males such as Lord Colville and Lord Clerk are mainly of instrumental chamber music, thus giving surprising confirmation of the gender discrimination in music-making outlined by David Johnson.

The study of the music libraries is not only extremely important as evidence of trends in domestic music-making or instruments in common use; perhaps most crucially, some of Scotland's stately homes have harboured unique copies of music for several centuries, and this custom of accumulation and preservation may be one of the most significant contributions of the Scottish eighteenth-century landowners.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 Scotland's Musical Development in Perspective

On first impression Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century would seem like an unlikely centre for a flourishing art music industry. The lack of a royal court after the Union of the Crowns in 1603 meant that there was no focal point for artistic life in Scotland, and no state purse to fund cultural endeavour or encourage new developments. Furthermore, at the beginning of the eighteenth century Scotland was extremely poor. With an overwhelmingly rural population, and inefficient farming methods, there was at best enough to feed the population; in the years of poor harvests, there were huge death tolls. There was very little trade with other countries: Scotland had been unable to establish foreign trading enterprises with colonies as England and Holland had done, and manufacturing was not at a high enough level to stabilise the floundering economy. By 1707 Scotland's currency was worth a twelfth of Sterling.

In political terms Scotland was anything but stable in the first half of the eighteenth century. The enormous political upheavals had an economic impact on most of the families under survey in this work; instability was not confined to the Highlands, though Jacobite support was most widespread among the Catholic Highland clans. Many of the Eastern landowners were drawn into the 1715 Jacobite Rising, on both sides. The consequences were disastrous, financially and socially, and affected a high proportion of landed gentry over many years. Those families like the Grants, the Roses and the Mackenzies which were loyal to the Government suffered great losses when troops were billeted on their land, and supplies were commissioned from them. The government's promises of repayment were either never fulfilled, or partially honoured some forty years later. Others among the Eastern gentry were Episcopalians and, placated by the promise of French support for the 1715 Revolt, sent troops to join Mar. This was regarded as High Treason, and those of the

landowners who escaped with their lives, such as the 4th Earl of Panmure, the eldest son of the 5th Earl of Wemyss, and three of the sons of the 2nd Duke of Atholl, subsequently forfeited their estates and all their assets; many of them spent the rest of their lives in exile abroad. These circumstances were hardly conducive to the growth of art music.

Geographically, Scotland was, and indeed is, not an obvious cultural centre. On the periphery of Europe, and with no traffic passing through, cosmopolitan influences were scarce. Little foreign trade in the early eighteenth century, and the puritanical distrust of Catholics meant there were few points of contact with much of continental Europe.

That Presbyterianism may have inhibited the growth of art music is suggested by the fact that musical activity appears to have increased in direct proportion to the rise of the Moderate elements in the Church of Scotland. Though (contrary to common belief) there is little direct evidence for church interference in musical activities in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, there are three ways in which the established church may have indirectly proscribed involvement in art music. Firstly, music is inherently associated with dance and drama, both of which were anathema to the strict Presbyterians. Secondly, the only leisure time available to much of the population, when musical pursuits could be enjoyed, was the Sabbath, and this of course was a strictly-enforced day of rest. Thirdly, all classical music in Scotland was imported before the third decade of the eighteenth century – that is, it had connections with foreign countries, notably Italy, which were Catholic. The greatest fear of the Reformers in Scotland was Papistry; the fear of Catholic influence through Italian music was expounded in a well-known London pamphlet of 1727. The author (unknown) groups the Pope, the Pretender and the famed sopranos Cuzzoni and Faustina [Bordoni] together – all Catholics, all Italians, all rivals of the Protestant English monarch – concluding that “Madam Cuzzoni and Madam Faustina, love the Pope, and in all Probability the Pretender, From whence I infer,

that it is not safe to have Popish singers tolerated here in England".¹ The extent to which the church inhibited the growth of music cannot yet be stated with certainty, but the fact that Italian music was embraced wholeheartedly in Scotland once the fear of church recrimination had declined would suggest that the church had a significant influence on musical activity.

As was seen in the first chapter of this work, the Act of Union of 1707 dealt another blow to Scottish culture, with the departure of some of the most powerful and wealthiest Scottish noblemen to the newly established British parliament and fashionable London life. The Act of Union may have had further less direct influence on the success of art music in Scotland, in that much effort was expended on establishing (or re-affirming) a national identity for Scotland in the wake of union with England. The great resurgence of interest in Scottish folk-song led to many publications, both literary and musical, of traditional songs and folklore; however the dual interest in folk and art music may have been one of the factors which ultimately contributed to the decline of support for art music in the late eighteenth century.

The economic, social and political conditions in Scotland in the early eighteenth-century seem far from ideal for a growth of interest in art music. Yet music blossomed in the eighteenth century. Scotland was among the first places in Europe to see public concerts established, and by the middle of the century the concert life in Edinburgh was enviable. Along with the well-supported music society meetings, there were pleasure gardens, series of benefit concerts, assemblies, theatres with resident bands, and operas. Many excellent musicians from across Europe were attracted to Scotland,² especially to Edinburgh, and the standard of performance in public entertainments would have been high.

¹ Pamphlet entitled *The Devil to pay at St James's*, quoted in W Weber: "Handel's London – social, political and intellectual contexts" in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed D Burrows, p. 51

² S Baxter discusses Italian musicians working in Scotland in her doctoral dissertation: *Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c1720-1800: a Historical and Critical Study*. PhD, Glasgow, 1999. Information on foreign musicians is also found in D Johnson: *Music and Society*, pp. 54-63, D Fraser Harris: *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, ch. 4, pp. 51f; and J Macleod's forthcoming thesis: *The Edinburgh Musical Society: Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797*.

The most up-to-date music by contemporary Italian masters was known and enjoyed in Edinburgh by the final decade of the seventeenth century;³ within thirty years, Italian-style music had suffused everything, from concert programmes to private music collections, domestic music-making, music publishing and even composition. In stark contrast to the seventeenth century with its single secular music publication, there was a flurry of publishing activity from the second decade of the eighteenth century in Scotland, including a substantial number of Italianate publications, for example, Bocchi's *12 sonatas* for various instruments of 1726, McGibbon's *Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or Two Violins* of 1734, Oswald's *Six Pastoral Solos for Violin and Violoncello with Thoroughbass*, and Foulis' *Six Solos for the Violin with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord*. A large number of collections of Scots tunes were also published in Scotland (marketed as much to the English and continental upper classes as to the Scottish), and even these bore Italian hallmarks: Hawkins remarked of Alexander Munro's *Scotch tunes fitted to the German flute* (Edinburgh, 1730), that "the simplicity of the airs is lost in the attempts of the author to accommodate them to the style of Italian Music".⁴ The Italian terminology, instrumentation, cantabile style, and up-to-date harmonic language of these publications are markedly different to the unrefined dances and songs arranged for solo fiddle to be found so often in the Scottish manuscripts of the late seventeenth century. As was seen in the previous chapter, the music collections acquired in the eighteenth century by the families under survey consisted predominantly of Italian-style music, and surviving concert programmes (for example, for the Edinburgh Musical Society) suggests a similar concentration on Italianate music. The alacrity and extent of the spread of Italian-style overtures, concertos, sonatas and trio sonatas in Scotland was astonishing. In the late seventeenth century, Scotland was an isolated poverty-stricken country with a restricted cultural life, yet within three decades the country was at the forefront of European culture and taste.

As a prominent aspect of eighteenth-century Scottish culture, the success of art music is a useful indicator of the state of Scottish culture more generally. Far from being insular or insignificant in the face of advances in other countries, Scotland in fact deserves to be seen in a very positive and optimistic light. Scotland was cosmopolitan and outward-looking: musically at least, the country was up-to-date with continental developments in musical style. The fact that art music held so much

³ Evidence for this is found in Tytler's description of the concert for St Cecilia's Day in Edinburgh in 1695, discussed on p. 222.

⁴ J Hawkins: *History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2, p. 564

sway over more primitive folk music (at least in the first half of the eighteenth century) epitomises the dichotomy in wider Scottish cultural identity: Scottishness was being subsumed into Britishness, and elements of European culture were being absorbed to create an extroverted cosmopolitan society.

It might be suggested that this cosmopolitan atmosphere was a result of the relative proximity and musical influence of London, which was the major European musical centre for much of the eighteenth century. It certainly seems true that musical life in Scotland was modelled to some extent on that of London, as it is described by Simon McVeigh in *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. In the preface to this book, McVeigh underlines the social exclusivity of London's concert scene, and the role of the aristocracy (as opposed to the rising middle class) in sustaining musical activity in London, which, as will be seen throughout this chapter, is similar to the cultural leadership situation in Scotland. However, musical developments occurred simultaneously in London and Edinburgh – Scottish upper classes did not merely emulate established London practices. In both capital cities semi-public concerts were established in the 1680's (Banister in London, Beck in Edinburgh), and both had formal music societies by the early eighteenth century. Foreigners were employed as early in Scotland as in London, and a considerable number of foreign musicians throughout the century were attracted directly to Scotland (for example, Passerini), rather than performing for a time in London before moving north.

In the second half of the eighteenth century London influence may have been more pertinent in Scottish musical developments, but within the timespan and parameters of the present thesis, other sources of influence (for example, the foreign tours undertaken by young upper class gentlemen) were rather more significant in Scotland's rapid musical development. Most of the families explored in this thesis spent little or no time in London (no representative of the Rose family is known to have resided in London; Lady Betty Hope, John Clerk of Penicuik, Harry Maule, Lord John Murray and Lord Robert Colville definitely or presumably spent two or three years in London). These families were all largely Scottish-based: their music collections and instruments came mainly from Scotland, they employed teachers and attended concerts in Scotland, and their musical taste developed either through

continental contacts, or through exposure to up-to-date composition in Scotland. Even for the three families who spent a considerable period of time in London (Grants, Baillies, Wemyss), documented expenditure on musical activities occurred regularly if not mainly in Scotland, though particularly in the case of the opera-loving Baillie family, London influence is evident in the development of their musical taste. This fact notwithstanding, it is clear that London, though a major European musical centre, was not a crucial influence on musical developments in Scotland as they relate to this thesis.

Scotland could not be described as pioneering musically in that the country could not boast native composers who had European influence, nor was Scotland noted in the eighteenth century for the training of musicians or the development of new styles of composition; nevertheless the country must be recognised as amazingly vibrant musically. Despite all the economic, religious, political and social factors which could have stifled cultural development, the country enjoyed sustained musical growth in the first half of the eighteenth century. Against all the odds, up-to-date Italian music spread throughout the country; music societies and public concerts were established in the main towns, and not only native but also foreign musicians of international repute were attracted to and supported in Scotland. Scotland kept pace with other “peripheral” musical centres, and remained at the forefront of musical developments for much of the century.

There was a broad base of support for musical endeavour in eighteenth-century Scotland, and the patronage of musicians perhaps was more modern and more satisfactory than in more traditional European music centres. As was proposed in Chapter 3, the landowners, with their wider financial means, were an important part of this support for music endeavour. The families under survey in this work were seen to have supported musicians directly, through commissions and charity, and the landowners collectively helped to sustain a market for sheet music and instruments, as well as attending concerts and employing music teachers on a regular basis.

In the course of this research it has become apparent that certain landowners may have played a more prominent role in musical developments: setting trends, leading tastes, playing an active part in the establishing of musical institutions such as musical societies and public concerts. Little was previously known about the musical activities of two landowners who played such a role. Alexander Bayne of Rires and Robert Colville of Ochiltree. Their contribution to Scotland's musical development is described in some detail in the next section of this chapter, followed by a briefer assessment of the role played by two other landowners whose musical activities have been described by other writers: John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik, and Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly.

6.2. Individual Landowners Who Played a Significant Role in Scotland's Musical Development

Alexander Bayne of Rires (1685 - 1737), "a sort of musical composer"

As first preses or chairman of the Edinburgh Music Society on its formal constitution in 1728, Alexander Bayne played a formative role in musical developments in Scotland in the early eighteenth century. Though little information on the man was previously known, recent research has shown that he was a composer and theoretician of some ability, and well-regarded by his contemporaries as a musician.

Alexander Bayne was the eldest son of John Bayne of Logie, Sherriff-Clerk of Fifeshire. John Bayne's estate of Rires, to which Alexander succeeded on 8 October 1700,⁵ was worth a mere £20 sterling annually,⁶ and of necessity Alexander Bayne supplemented his income through a legal career. After studying law in Edinburgh and Leiden he took up residence in London as secretary to the Earl of Wemyss, and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn.⁷ On his return to Edinburgh in 1714 he was admitted to the élite faculty of advocates, whose members were distinguished by their cultural and intellectual breadth of outlook as much as by their proficiency as legal practitioners. In January 1722 Bayne became curator of the Advocates' Library, and was appointed first Professor of Scots Law at the University of Edinburgh in November of that year.⁸

Bayne married Mary, daughter of Sir John Carstairs of Kilconquhar, and had five children.⁹ His daughter Anne married the painter Alan Ramsay, and her maiden family is mentioned briefly in two books on the painter by Alistair Smart.¹⁰ Smart quotes a flattering epitaph to Bayne from a memorial in Alnwick church,¹¹ erected by Bayne's wife on his sudden death in 1737:

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*

⁶ Walter Menzies: *Alexander Bayne of Rires, advocate*, in *Juridical Review* 1924, p. 62

⁷ John W Cairns: "Importing our Lawyers from Holland: Netherlands' Influences on Scots Law and Lawyers in the Eighteenth Century" in *Scotland and the Low Countries*, ed G G Simpson

⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*

⁹ see Rev Walter Wood's *The East Neuk of Fife*, pp. 117-8

¹⁰ A Smart: *The Life and Art of Allan Ramsay*, and *Allan Ramsay: Painter Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment*

¹¹ Further study of this monument is currently being undertaken by Ian Gordon Brown. One of the angels engraved on the memorial holds a piece of music identified by Anthony Hicks as the canon *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd.

A man of Elegant Taste and Polite Style, who had the Art of tempering the Severities of his harder Studies with the Soothing Gaieties of Gentlemanly Amusements, sometimes with Mechanical Operations, sometimes with Painting, but chiefly with Music, wherein he greatly Excelled . . . ¹²

That Bayne was held in high regard by the clientele of the informal Edinburgh Musical Society is verified by the fact he was elected president on the society's formal constitution. To be elected, Bayne must firstly have been active in the society for at least a few years, and secondly was presumably one of the leaders who pressed for a formal constitution. Bayne held the post of president from 1728 till 1731 and remained a member of the society till his death.

Music by Bayne does not feature in the catalogues, nor in the concert programmes of the Edinburgh Music Society, but two cantatas "by Mr Bain" are included in one of the manuscripts of the Baillies of Mellerstain, now in the Reid Music Library.¹³ The cantatas are dated 1722, and the handwriting in the manuscripts is similar, probably identical to, Bayne's script, examples of which I found in documents in the Central Region Archives in Stirling. The cantatas, *Quando Voglio* and *Qual Tortorella il Cor* are both for soprano and Basso Continuo, and are in Aria-Recit-Aria format. The works have a predominance of tonic and dominant chords, with correct cadential formulae, and a few rather awkward modulations. The vocal writing is not good, with clumsy leaps in the melody and frequent parallel octaves between the bass and soprano. The word-setting is almost entirely syllabic.

The sales catalogue of the music collection of Lord Colville of Ochiltree¹⁴ includes "manuscript music by Mr Bayne" along with a song "written by Mr Pepusch for Mr Bayne" – Pepusch and Bayne probably became acquainted when Bayne worked in Lincoln's Inn, London, in the first ten years of the eighteenth century. The Baillie Household Book entries for 1718 list a payment for copying music by Bayne (see p. 200), which cannot refer to the cantatas in P1436 (dated 1722) and may constitute evidence for other music by Bayne.

¹² A Smart: *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment*, p. 72

¹³ Reid Music Library MS P 1436

¹⁴ Pretoria State Library, Shelf mark FB6652. This is discussed on pp.153–4.

There is a rather disparaging account of Bayne's conduct by the well-known lawyer and agricultural reformer, Lord Kames:

He was a sort of musical composer, but of no taste in Musick, for he was quite inattentive to the finest pieces at the Concert till his own performances were played, and then he fell to the harpsichord and was all alive.¹⁵

A contrary view of Bayne's musical achievements is found in a poem written by Lord Stormont to Bayne which is attached to a treatise of music now in the Advocates' Library:¹⁶

*The Master of Stormont to his friend
Mr Bayne on his Treatise of Musick.*

*The Various Gifts of Nature to Mankind
Often divided, are but rarely jointed,
Even they whom bounteous Fate has formed, to please
Succeed by different methods and degrees;
In Learning some, And some in art Excell
One's skill 't invent, another Copy's well
This man our Reason guides, that Charms our sense
Possessing but at most one Excellence;
But Heav'n exceeding from that rule of Fate
And prodigal of Blessings singly Great
With vast Indulgence, has bestow'd on you
To ~~Charm~~ our senses and our Reason too*

The manuscript treatise in which this verse appears was acquired by the Advocates' Library before 1925 from Dundas of Dundas. The volume (inscribed "this manuscript belongs to the Laird of Dundas") actually contains two treatises: the first is untitled and deals in some depth with acoustics - string vibration, aural perception, the harmonic series - and its bearing on the harmonisation of melodies. The second

¹⁵ Smart: Allan Ramsay, p. 72, quoting from Boswell's *Journal in Edinburgh* of 1778

¹⁶ NLS Adv MS 80.6.9

treatise is entitled *Institutions of Musick Wherin are set forth the practical principles of musical composition in two parts*. This treatise claims to be in two sections, the first of which can be identified as *Of the Nature of Melodie and Harmony and of the Musical Intervals of Sound by which both are produced*; the second section is not readily identifiable from the many subsections. The rules of Corelli-Bach harmony - from the basics of intervals, keys, concords and discords, to specific rules of counterpoint, four-part harmony, suspensions and auxiliary notes - are explained at some length. Though the scribe is constant throughout the manuscript (including the Stormont poem), there is no indication that the two treatises belong together. The only clue as to the identity of the author is in the heading to the Stormont poem (reproduced on p. 218), and this is not conclusive evidence that either or both of the treatises were by Bayne.

Another copy of the *Institutions of Music* is found attached to a printed thorough-bass tutor in the Library of Congress in Washington. The printed tutor is entitled *An Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass Humbly Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Colvill by A.B., Edinburgh 1717*, and was acquired by the Library of Congress from the Taphouse music sale in 1905. Four other copies of the thorough-bass tutor are listed in RISM and ESTC:

National Library of Scotland, shelf mark 6.208 (11)

Euing Library, Glasgow University, shelf mark Ca.9-y.36

Berlin Stadt Bibliothek.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelf mark, MS Mus.c.8

The identity of the author (stated only as AB) has aroused some curiosity, and several music historians have proposed the engraver Alexander Baillie (who is credited with the thorough-bass tutor in RISM). James Maidment, who was an advocate and book collector from Glasgow, once owned the Taphouse/Library of Congress copy of the *Introduction*, and added this written inscription:

The author of the printed portion was probably Alexander Baillie who in 1735 published in oblong 4^{to} "Airs for the Flute" . . . This was a presentation copy from the author to Robert third & last Lord Colville . . . Whether he or Baillie or some one else was the author of the ms. treatise that follows is uncertain. Mr D Laing never heard of another copy than the present of the printed tract.

The reference to David Laing is to the appendix to Stenhouse's *Introduction to the Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland* (written to accompany Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, 1787-1803). In the appendix Laing comments

that Maidment's copy of the printed thorough-bass treatise was the dedication copy, but the attribution to Baillie "can only be conjectured".

Alexander Baillie was an engraver who worked in Edinburgh from 1735 to the late 1760's, and was responsible for the engraving of Barsanti's *Collection of Old Scots Tunes* amongst other works.¹⁷ In the Central Library, Edinburgh, there is a plan of the Forth-Clyde Canal and two maps of Edinburgh and Midlothian, dated 1763 and 1766, on which Baillie's name appears. He is also listed in RISM as the author of a collection of *Airs for the Flute*, printed in Edinburgh in 1735. As is obvious from the preface, Baillie is not the composer of these:

The following airs having been composed by a Gentleman for your L^d's [Lady Gairlies] use when you began to practise the Flute à Becque, I thought I could not chuse a better subject for my First Essay as an engraver of Musick, than these airs; as well because they were made for beginners on the Flute & Harpsichord, as that they were composed by a gentleman who first put a pencil in my hand, and then an engraver . . .

Though evidently a competent engraver of music, the tone of the preface to the *Airs for the Flute* make it seem improbable that Baillie could have written the *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass*, as Maidment and Laing conjectured. Baillie is also rather young to have composed the *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass*, given that he is not known to have engraved anything before 1735. For these reasons it seems likely that Alexander Bayne is the AB who wrote most of the Thorough-Bass tutor, and his acquaintance with Colville referred to above (p. 217) would support this. Farmer also came to the conclusion that Bayne was the author of the printed volume,¹⁸ though as usual he cites no proof for his supposition. The fact that the Library of Congress copy of the printed *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass* is attached to the manuscript *Institutions of Music* (attributed to Bayne in the poem by Stormont) might provide further tenuous proof of Bayne's authorship of both works.¹⁹

That Alexander Bayne was the author of the *Institutions of Music* or the *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass* may never be proved conclusively.

¹⁷ A complete list is given in Glen: *Early Scottish Melodies*, p. 254

¹⁸ Farmer: *History of Music in Scotland*, p. 322

¹⁹ Surprisingly, the Oxford Bodleian copy of the *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass* has a 19th-century copy of Stormont's poem from the *Institutions* appended to it, which again suggests someone knew the two works were by Bayne – but this copy came from David Laing's library, and Laing evidently still believed Alexander Baillie to be the author of the thorough bass volume!

Nevertheless, Bayne deserves more recognition for his place in Edinburgh's musical life than he has hitherto received. The regard in which he was held by his contemporaries is reflected in the presence of his compositions amongst the music owned by the Baillies and Lord Colville (and very probably other families), by the fact that such an esteemed composer as Pepusch apparently wrote a song for him, and most importantly by his election to the chair of the newly-constituted Edinburgh Music Society in 1728. Regardless of the quality of his compositions and the doubt over the authorship of the theoretical writings, Bayne must surely be acknowledged as one of the influential figures in the establishment of art music in Scotland in the early eighteenth century.

Lord Robert Colville of Ochiltree, c 1665-1728

Another of the earliest members of the Edinburgh Music Society is Lord Colville, to whom Alexander Bayne dedicated his *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of the Thoro'Bass* in 1717. Born around 1665,²⁰ Lord Robert Colville succeeded to the family estate of Cleish in Kinross-shire on the death of his father the 2nd Lord Colville in 1671. Lord Robert Colville's career appears orthodox: he took his seat in the Scottish parliament in 1700, and was a Commissioner of supply for Perth, Fife and Kinross, the three counties whose borders were straddled by Colville's Cleish estate. The 3rd Lord Colville died unmarried in March 1728, and the estate passed to his nephew. As said earlier (pp. 34-5) further biographical details are extremely sparse, and only one archival document²¹ is recorded by the National Archives of Scotland, the National Register of Archives (Scotland) and the National Library of Scotland.

In a description of a concert on St Cecilia's Day 1695, the historian William Tytler describes Colville as a "thorough master of music [who] understood counterpoint

²⁰ Robert Colville's date of birth is not recorded, but can be ascertained as c 1665 from the fact that he was the second of three children born between his parents' marriage in 1662 and his father's death in 1671.

²¹ This is a set of accounts for Colville's Cleish estate – see above, p. 35 for details of this, and also of land title deeds recently deposited in the A K Bell library in Perth.

well [and] played on the harpsichord and organ.”²² Tribute is paid to Colville’s musical prowess in Defoe’s *Caledonia* of 1706:

The God of Musick joins when Colvil plays,
And all the Muses dance to Haddington’s Essays;
The charms are mutual, piercing, and compleat,
This in his Art excells, and that in Wit²³

Colville’s musical expertise is also acknowledged by more recent authors. In a chapter on the Colvilles of Ochiltree and Culross (from whom the former family is descended), John Westwood states that the 3rd Lord Colville “played the organ at the expence of his estates, and in 1719 became indebted to the clients of Alexander Seton of Blackhall. He was deemed an accomplished player of the organ and harpsicord, and was of those nobles who attended the concerts in Crosskeys Tavern, Canongate.”²⁴

Lord Colville accumulated a huge music collection which was auctioned by John Freebairn on 26 November 1728. The only copy of the sales catalogue for this has recently been discovered in a South African library,²⁵ and throws new light on the development of musical taste in Scotland, and on Colville’s role in Scotland’s musical life in the eighteenth century. There are some 282 items listed in the sales catalogue – the library is by far the biggest known to have been acquired by a Scottish family in the early eighteenth century – and the majority of works are printed copies of chamber music by Italian composers such as Albinoni, Corelli, Albicastro, Torelli, Geminiani and Matteis. About a tenth of the music collection is keyboard music; vocal music, including a small number of opera scores, accounts for a further 30% of Colville’s library. A large number of the printed volumes are Dutch imprints, and some of the manuscripts are described as of Italian origin in the sales catalogue. Manuscripts by some composers, for example Reincken, were probably also copied abroad as the music was never printed and did not appear to have wide circulation in manuscript.

²² W Tytler: “On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century”, p. 508

²³ D Defoe: *Caledonia*, part 3. NLS Ms.SP.144(6)

²⁴ J Westwood: *That Portion of Scotland*, p. 148

²⁵ *Catalogue of Musick, being the complete and curious Collection of the late Lord Colvil*, Pretoria State Library, South Africa, shelf mark FB6652. The collection is listed in Appendices 5 and 6 of this work, and the contents of the library are discussed in chapter 5.

What became of most of Lord Colville's library can only be conjectured, but a resolution in the Sederunt Books for 13 December 1728 confirms that a number of the volumes were next acquired by the Edinburgh Music Society. A Mr Douglass and a Mr Lumsden were instructed to "examine the state and condition . . . of a Harpsichord which belonged to the Deceast Lord Colvile . . . and likewise to purchase such of my Lord Colviles collection of musick as may be usefull for the Society and can be had at reasonable rates". The harpsichord was bought for £4 sterling, and £8-13-5 was paid for music from the sale.²⁶ The earliest surviving catalogue of the music society's holdings dates from 1765, and unfortunately does not clarify which works came from the Colville sale, but 25 of the items are described as "old". The definition of "old" is unclear: though most of the works so designated were published before 1710, there are two much later than this (no. 4 of Handel's *Concerti Grossi* op 3, published in 1734, and Cervetto's 6 *Sonatas* for 3 Violoncellos or 2 Violins, printed in 1741). The "old" items which are known to have been in Colville's library, and probably were among the items bought at the 1728 sale are listed below:

- Albicastro's *Sonatas* in 3 parts, op 3: ie *XII Sonates a Violino e Violone*, pub c 1700, Amsterdam
- Bassani's *Sonatas* in 3 parts: ie *Sinfonie a due e tre instramenti*, op 5, pub Bologna 1683
- Bonporti's *Sonatas* in 3 parts: could be op 1, 2, or 6. all *Sonate da camera*, all owned by Colville
- Corelli's 4 *Symphonies* in 3 parts: could be one of the sets of *trio sonatas*, op 1, 2, 3 or 4, all owned by Colville
- Gentili's *Sonatas* 1: ie *Sonate a tre*, op 1, pub Venice, 1701.
- Marino's *Sonatas* 3: ie *Suonate a tre & a cinque*, op 3, Pub Venice, c 1693

It seems plausible that Lord Colville of Ochiltree was particularly instrumental in the introduction of Italian-style music at the end of the seventeenth century. As mentioned above (p. 221), Colville is listed among the gentleman performers in the earliest documented concert given by the Edinburgh Musical Society, and it seems that music for most of the repertoire played at this 1695 concert could have been supplied by Robert Colville himself: all but two items feature in his huge music collection.²⁷

²⁶ Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books, 13 December 1728

²⁷ Farmer has assumed that wealthy patrons might supply music for Music Society Meetings – for example, on p. 118 of his *Music-Making in the Olden Days* he cites items from Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk's Music Library which were "doubtless used by the Aberdeen Musical Society".

Figure 6.1 Repertoire performed in 1695 St Cecilia's Day concert, and possible links with Colville's collection

Items which could have been provided by Lord Colville:

Torelli's Sonata for 4 violins: - perhaps one of *Sinfonie a 2.3. e 4 instrumeti* (pub 1687) owned by Colville.

Corelli's Sonata: for 2 violins: Trio sonatas op 1, 2, 3 and 4 all in Colville's collection

Torelli's Sonata: for 2 violins; *Sinfonie a tre e a quattro* op 5 (probably in Colville's collection – identification uncertain) and several ms copies of Sonatas for two violins certainly in Colville's collection

Pepusch's sonata for 2 flutes and 2 violins:

Pepusch's sonata for 2 violins and 2 hautboys: both perhaps from Pepusch's *Concerti Grossi* – ms copies in Colville's collection.

Finger's sonata for 2 flutes and 2 oboes: perhaps from op 1, *12 sonatae pro diversis instrumentis* – printed copy in Colville's collection

Bassani Sonata: for 2 violins; *Sinfonie a due e tre instrumeti*, op 5 – printed and manuscript copies in Colville's collection.

Bassani Songs and motets: probably from *concerti Sacri, motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci*, op 11 or *Motetti a voce sola*, op 12, both published 1692 and owned by Colville.

Items not owned by Colville:

Barrett's Trumpet Sonata: probably the sonata for 2 violins, viola, trumpet, oboe and Basso Continuo surviving only in a British Library manuscript

Clerk's Overture: may be one of Jeremiah Clark's, or perhaps by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik

Finger's Trumpet Sonata: one of 6 sonatas for trumpet, oboe and strings, surviving only in a British Library manuscript

The repertoire performed in the 1695 concert is astonishing: in place of the monodic traditional songs and simple keyboard music to be found in most contemporary manuscripts, the music performed by this group of nineteen amateur gentlemen and eleven professional musicians included concertos, overtures and trio sonatas by young Italian composers who would later be esteemed the world over. The most likely explanation for the explosion of interest in modern Italian music among provincial Edinburgh gentry is that wealthy young aristocrats such as Lord Colville had travelled abroad and encountered modern baroque music and introduced the music to their peers in Scotland.

Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik, 1676-1755

John Clerk of Penicuik may also have played a seminal role in the development of Italianate taste among the Edinburgh gentry, as a letter sent by an early member of the informal Edinburgh music society shows:²⁸

I am sure you are grouen a great musitian nou and our consurt people are so overjoyed with the expectation of your bringing home a shypfull of musick to them that they resolve to chuse you maestro di capella when you come home which is mightily longed for. . .

Johnston to Clerk, Edinburgh 3 Jan 1698

Clerk was in Italy studying with Corelli, but it is impossible to tell what, if any, of the music described as “old” in the earliest surviving catalogue of the Edinburgh Music Society library (1765) might have been imported by Clerk at the turn of the century. Like Colville, Clerk’s influence in the development of musical taste back home in Scotland would have been considerable. Both men had knowledge of, and evidently a liking for, the most up-to-date continental music, which they introduced and promoted among their peers in Scotland.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik would have been particularly esteemed as an authority on continental music, as he had studied with renowned composers, including Corelli. In recent years much interest has been aroused by the discovery of a folio of musical

²⁸ GD 18/5202/12

compositions by John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik. There are seventeen pieces now in the National Archives of Scotland,²⁹ and six large-scale complete works have been edited and performed:

Cantata: *Dic mihi saeve puer*

Cantata a 5 Voce: *Miserere mei Deus*

Concerto a soprano con 2 Violini e Continuo: *Eheu Eheu*

Cantata: *Leo Scotiae Irritatus*

Sonata a violin solo

Cantata: *Odo di mesto intorno*

The *Odo di mesto intorno* is the only one of the pieces which is dated; the inscription (quoted on p. 145, footnote 90) says that the work was performed in 1698. On stylistic grounds, the other four cantatas can be assumed to date from around the same time, when Clerk was a pupil of Corelli and [Bernardo?] Pasquini.

With the exception of *Miserere Mei Deus* (which is set for soprano, two violins, viola, bassoon and basso continuo), all of Clerk's cantatas are for soprano, two violins and continuo. This choice of medium is probably partly a reflection of the musicians available to Clerk at the time, but is equally a common texture among the cantatas of the late seventeenth century Italian composers - of the 600 or so cantatas attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti, for example, over half are for soprano and basso continuo, and around a further sixty use instruments, most usually two violins. Clerk's choice of texts for the cantatas is less typical of the Italian style. Virtually all Italian cantatas are in the vernacular, and the majority paint Arcadian scenes of unrequited love. By contrast, all of Clerk's cantatas are on historical, sacred or dramatic texts, and all except *Odo di mesto intorno* are in Latin.

All five cantatas are very accomplished works, and show that Clerk was at the forefront of musical developments in Italy, capable of writing in the most up-to date Italian vocal styles, and in some cases even employing expressive devices before they became common practice. Chromatic bass lines, unexpected flattened seventh chords and frequent suspensions are skilfully deployed in the first movement of the cantata *Eheu* to set the mood of pathos and despair. Harmonic language is carefully controlled throughout this movement, and there are many beautiful moments, for example the cadence in bar 23-4, which at the last minute becomes a V-I in C major, having led the ear to expect a cadence in D minor. The re-introduction of Eb on the word "lacrimis" after a lengthy passage in D minor is also especially poignant.

²⁹ GD 18/4537 and GD 18/4538

Melismas are used to emphasise important or emotive words: "acerbis" (bitter), "risu" and "flebis" (laughter and tears), "ululat" (wailing), and lacrimis (tears). In all six of the larger works, vocal and instrumental writing is expressive and idiomatic, harmonic progressions are strong and competently handled, and the sense of the text is beautifully evoked in each of the vocal works.

Several other pieces by Clerk are among the family archives in the National Archives of Scotland. These pieces are in a much simpler style, and the majority are rough drafts of variations on Scots tunes or simple minuets. Although harpsichord was Clerk's preferred instrument, there are surprisingly no keyboard works by Clerk among the compositions held in the National Archives of Scotland. However, there is a suite of dance pieces for keyboard in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles MS no 161. attributed to "Sigr Clerk". This manuscript was among those collated by Innocenzo Fede for the exiled Jacobite court at St Germain. The pieces by Clerk are in a very simple style, unadventurous harmonically and built on stock formal and cadential patterns. The inclusion of an *Air Ecosois*, and the obvious Scottish connection with the Stuart court, might lead, in the absence of other possible composers,³⁰ to the tentative suggestion that these pieces were by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. However, the style is markedly inferior to Clerk's cantatas, and Clerk with his strong anti-Jacobite sentiments would surely not willingly have supplied the exiled court with the music - which is of course not conclusive proof that Clerk is not the author.

"Twenty-one pieces by Baron Clerk" were among the items owned by Lord Colville and sold in November 1728. These can only be by John Clerk of Penicuik, and the presence of these in the sales catalogue is significant not only in confirming that Clerk had a substantial musical output³¹ but also that he was well-known in Edinburgh music circles and evidently held in high regard by his peers.

³⁰ Jean Lionnet made the obvious suggestion of Jeremiah Clark (in "Innocenzo Fede et la musique a la cour des Jacobites a Saint-Germain-en-laye" in *Revue de Bibliotheque Nationale* 46, pp. 14-17), but in a private correspondence Harry Johnstone has refuted this on stylistic grounds, and proposed Sir John Clerk of Penicuik as the author. The only other known eighteenth-century composers by the name Clark are Jasper Clarke, who, since he had a piece published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1754, was almost certainly too young to have contributed music to the Versailles manuscript, and Stephen Clarke, who worked in Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century.

³¹ It is regrettable that the information in the sales catalogue gives no indication of the genre of these pieces (vocal or instrumental), nor is there sufficient information to tell whether the pieces owned by Colville were copies of those already known, or were works now lost.

Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly

The 6th Earl of Kelly, aristocratic Scottish composer, perhaps represents the pinnacle of Scotland's musical achievement in the eighteenth century. Kelly's life and musical works have been documented in Chapter 4 of David Johnson's *Music and Society*, and only a brief summary is necessary here.

The 6th Earl of Kelly was born at Kellie Castle in Fife in 1732, the eldest son of the 5th Earl of Kelly. He was educated for a time at the High School in Edinburgh, before commencing a Grand Tour in 1753, spending some time studying with Johann Stamitz in Mannheim. While Kelly was abroad his father died (having served four years in prison for his part in the 1745 Jacobite Rising), and Thomas Erskine became 6th Earl of Kelly. But the young lord sold most of the family lands to further his lifestyle of pleasure, and enjoyed a highly sociable lifestyle until his premature death in 1781.³²

Kelly's talent as a composer was recognised instantly. Three years after Kelly died, Thomas Robertson reported:

... to that same period at which the other great men of Scotland have appeared, it has been reserved to produce the greatest secular musician in his line, in the British Islands, the late Earl of Kelly. In his works the *fervidum ingenium* of his country bursts forth; and elegance is mingled with fire. While others please and amuse, it is his province to rouse, and almost overset his hearer. Loudness, rapidity, enthusiasm, announce the Earl of Kelly. His harmonies are acknowledged to be accurate and ingenious, admirably calculated for the effect in view, and discovering a thorough knowledge in music.³³

Even by this early date, it was known to Robertson that some of Kelly's music was "probably lost". There are several pieces mentioned in programmes by the Edinburgh Music Society, such as the "Dead March" and an overture for the London

³² The biographical information is widely known, and appears in (among other sources) David Johnson's Introduction to Kelly's symphonies, in *The Symphony*, vol. E1, published by Garland (series editor Barry Brook) in 1984

³³ By Thomas Robertson, author of the *Inquiry into Fine Arts*, 1784, quoted by C K Sharpe, in the introductory notice to Kelly's *Minuets*, p. ii.

pasticcio *Ezzio* which are not now known,³⁴ but some of these lost works may yet reappear. A thematic catalogue of Kelly's known symphonies was included in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*³⁵ in 1906, and David Johnson produced a revised version of this for Garland in 1984, as well as including a list of sources of compositions by the Earl in *Music and Society*. More music has come to light since then, and a new thematic catalogue, including manuscript sources of Kelly's quartets, is included in Appendix 7 of this work. A "new" 4-part symphony in Eb major has been included under "unknown and spurious 4-part works" in the Appendix. Only one movement of this seems to survive, in full score in NLS MS Acc 11420 (3), and the first and second violin parts of the first movement also appear in two of a set of quartet manuscript books – NLS MS Acc 10303 (1 and 2). I would suggest the movement is by Kelly, firstly on stylistic evidence: the writing is competent and strongly harmonic, and has several "Kelly fingerprints" – three opening chords followed by a rest, tremolo inverted pedals in Violin 1, some chromaticism and "built-in" dynamic contrasts. The movement is in a primitive sonata form (34 bars, 22 bars, 24 bars) though the development section does not rely heavily on motivic material from the exposition. Excitement, which characterises most of Kelly's first movements, is maintained as usual by driving "trommel-bass" figures and fast scale and arpeggios. The second reason for attributing this movement to Kelly is that it is included among works by Kelly in the quartet manuscript, which has been taken as a reliable source of Kelly's music.³⁶

Only a small number of pieces by Kelly were published during his lifetime. At least eleven of his orchestral pieces (variously labelled symphonies and overtures) were published: six overtures in 1761 by Bremner (as Kelly's op.1), four overtures as no 13, 17, 25 and 28 of Bremner's Periodical Overture publication between 1766 and 1770, and at least one in *Six Symphonies in four parts composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the earl of Kelly, and others* (1765). This last publication has been a source of debate, with attributions being made variously to Stamitz, Filtz, Sammartini and Kelly by previous writers.³⁷ The most recent assessment, by Johnson in his 1991 text

³⁴ A full discussion of Kelly's lost music as detailed in the Edinburgh Music Society plan books can be found in Johnson: *Music and Society*, pp. 82–4.

³⁵ *Denkmäler der Tonkunst*, Folge II, JG 7–8, BD II, "Sinfonien der Mannheimer Schule" II.

³⁶ See D Johnson's typescript text to accompany NLS MS Acc 10303, (dated 1991, held under the same shelfmark in the NLS) for a discussion of the Earl of Kelly's quartets.

³⁷ See Johnson *Music and Society* p. 77 and Johnson's introduction in the Garland publication for information on previous attributions of the six works.

to accompany NLS MS Acc 10303, attributes no. 2 of the set to G B Sammartini, no. 4 to J A Filtz and no. 6 to Stamitz, which leaves no's 1, 3 and 5 as the possible Kelly contributions (having no known conflicting attributions.) Of these, no. 3 also appears in NLS MS Acc 10303, attributed to Kelly. However, this cannot be seen as conclusive proof of Kelly's authorship, as no. 2 and 6 of the Bremner publication are also reproduced in the NLS manuscript, also attributed to Kelly, and recent research (detailed by Johnson in the NLS MS Acc 10303 text) has suggested these symphonies are by Sammartini and Stamitz respectively.

Six trio sonatas by Kelly were published in London in 1769, and a selection of Minuets was published posthumously from a manuscript source by C K Sharpe in 1836. Kelly composed a large number of minuets, and many survive in manuscript sources;³⁸ copies of a printed collection of minuets he composed for the Fete Champêtre at Epsom, Surrey, in 1774, also survive. Two of Kelly's songs, "The Lover's Message" and "Death is now my only Treasure" were included by C K Sharpe with the minuets published in 1836.

Not only was Kelly the leading composer in Scotland, and capable of writing in the most up-to-date continental styles, he also played a significant role in musical life in Scotland as Deputy Governor of the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1767 to 1781. Many leading continental musicians were attracted to Edinburgh under, or probably through, Kelly's influence – for example Johann Schetky and Joseph Reinagle – but Kelly's own works remained supremely popular in the music society programmes throughout his life and beyond.

³⁸ See Johnson's list of Kelly sources in the appendix to *Music and Society* for details of manuscript sources of minuets.

6.3 The landowning classes: a catalyst to Scotland's musical development

The prime aim of this thesis was to explore the role of music in the lives of landowners, and the role of landowners in the development of art music in Scotland between 1685 and 1760. The work has thrown new light on the cultural interests and activities of a small cross-section of eighteenth-century landowners and gives a new perspective which can be utilised by social historians in future attempts to clarify the role of landed families in post-Union Scotland. Not only is there at present no comprehensive text on landowners and their way of life, opinions are divided on the extent to which this élite provided cultural leadership in the eighteenth century. Though the present work makes no pretence of providing definitive answers to these issues, the influence of the landowners in musical developments as outlined below may aid social historians in defining the role of the landowning classes in post-Union Scotland.

The sample of families researched in this work has necessarily been limited by time constraints, and further work would need to be done on a larger number of families over a wider geographic area to authenticate the results of this research. Other families which have accessible archival material and some known musical involvement include the Earls of Mar, the Hamiltons, the Stewarts of Bute and the Ogilvy-Grants of Seafield.

The manifest importance of music in the daily lives of the landowners under survey in this thesis has been emphasised throughout the work. All the families under survey owned a range of musical instruments, and considerable sums of money were disbursed on the purchase and maintenance of these, as was seen in Chapter 2 of this work. Instruments which were popular included the violin, cello, flute, guitar and various keyboard instruments, from chamber organs to small spinets – all of which featured in the portraits examined in section 2.3.1. Such portraits of domestic music-making are important firstly, because they demonstrate that musical accomplishment was a highly-regarded attribute which the landowners wished to illustrate for

posterity, and secondly because they provide confirmation of a thriving domestic music tradition. The correspondence referred to in section 2.3 gave some indication of the form such domestic music evenings might take. It was seen in section 2.3 and also in Chapter 4 that women not only regularly participated in group-music making at home, but also learned instruments which David Johnson had considered to be the preserve of males, such as flute and violin. However, the gender discrimination proposed by Johnson was confirmed to some extent by the music collections explored in Chapter 5: those collections which were known to have been purchased and used by females contained many more items for solo keyboard instruments, or for one or two voices, than those of families where music-making was dominated by men (which were seen to be based around instrumental chamber music). Many of the music collections surveyed were heavily biased towards chamber music in the new Italian singing style; the landowners were seen to be informed and up-to-date in their musical taste.

The available information on domestic music-making would suggest that the landowners under survey were essentially active rather than passive in their musical activities. They preferred to play themselves rather than to employ people to entertain them, and the considerable expense which was involved in the pursuit of music seems to confirm that musical activities were an important part of everyday life. Further work on these and other families may show that domestic musical activity was yet more extensive among the Scottish landowners; the availability and accessibility of more comprehensive archives would almost certainly have provided evidence for increased musical involvement.

Of more significance than the place of music in the lives of the landowners, important as this was, is the role that the landowning classes played in the establishment of art music in Scotland. The landowners surveyed were willing and able to support professional musicians directly, through engagements, gifts of money, and recommendations to high society, and through their attendance at concerts. As was seen in Chapter 3, all styles of music from classical to ecclesiastical and folk were supported, with the landowners under survey employing

professional musicians to provide entertainment and music to accompany dancing. Rather than being the sole source of support for musicians, as in some foreign states, the landowners in Scotland were part of a broad base of financial support for musicians from all the upper levels of society. There were few examples of long-term patronage of musicians by the landowners in Scotland along the continental “servitu particolare” arrangement; while the landowning classes, with their wider financial means, were an important element in the financial support of musicians, leisure pursuits were well within the financial reach of the mercantile and professional classes by the middle of the eighteenth century. Music was commercialised early in the eighteenth century in Britain, and it was argued in section 3.6 that this broader support was more modern and satisfactory for professional musicians, giving wider opportunities and preventing the insecurity that ensued if one of few wealthy music patrons fell from favour.

The support of the landowners under survey was seen as important by musicians working in Scotland, as the dedications of several music publications examined in section 3.5 demonstrated. Landowning families were also predominant in the subscription lists for published music.

As well as being benefactors of performers, the landowners often supported musicians as teachers over a long time-scale. Section 4.4 demonstrated that this source of income was crucial to the survival of musicians in eighteenth-century Scotland; this aspect of upper-class patronage was an important aspect of the inter-relationship of landowners and musicians.

The landowners under survey were found to be prominent members of the Aberdeen and Edinburgh Musical Societies, as documented in Chapter 2: not only did they vie for vacant places, but many were happy to serve as directors and governors to the societies, thus directly influencing repertoire and engagement of performers. Though landowners did not in fact constitute the highest proportion of members by profession in the two membership lists for Edinburgh Musical Society which were compared, it must be borne in mind that the professional and business classes were

almost all younger sons of landowners – thus the upper class clientele is seen to dominate the public facet of lowland musical life. The centrality of landowners of all ranks in the music societies is indicative of their continued role as cultural leaders in post-Union Scotland. It was here that they interacted to form a homogenous cultural elite, leading taste and setting trends.

However, the collective contribution of the landowners goes much further. It was the landowners, with their wider financial means, who travelled abroad and encountered up-to-date eighteenth-century music. In the earliest years of the Edinburgh Musical Society, individuals such as Colville and John Clerk were instrumental in the introduction and acceptance of Italianate music in Scotland, which was promoted extensively by the society in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The leadership of the upper classes in matters of musical taste had major consequences for the development of music in Scotland: in most unpromising circumstances, Italian style came to dominate the musical life of the country, engulfing traditional music, native composition, music collections and concert programmes, as discussed on p. 212. Section 4.3 proposed that the sons of landowners were crucial in this: they were the ones who travelled abroad in the early years of the eighteenth century, and they were the ones who returned to Scotland with knowledge of, and thirst for, modern Italianate music. Thus the landed classes were a catalyst to Scotland's musical development in the eighteenth century. It was the landowners who created a market for classical music – who enabled Scotland, against all the odds, to develop and sustain a vibrant musical life in the eighteenth century, and to keep abreast of other “peripheral” European centres in musical developments.

Future work may confirm and expand the findings of this research on the role of the landowners in Scotland's musical development. As well as the implications for musicological research, it is hoped that this study will also provide a new starting point for social historians in defining the role of landowners in eighteenth-century Scotland.

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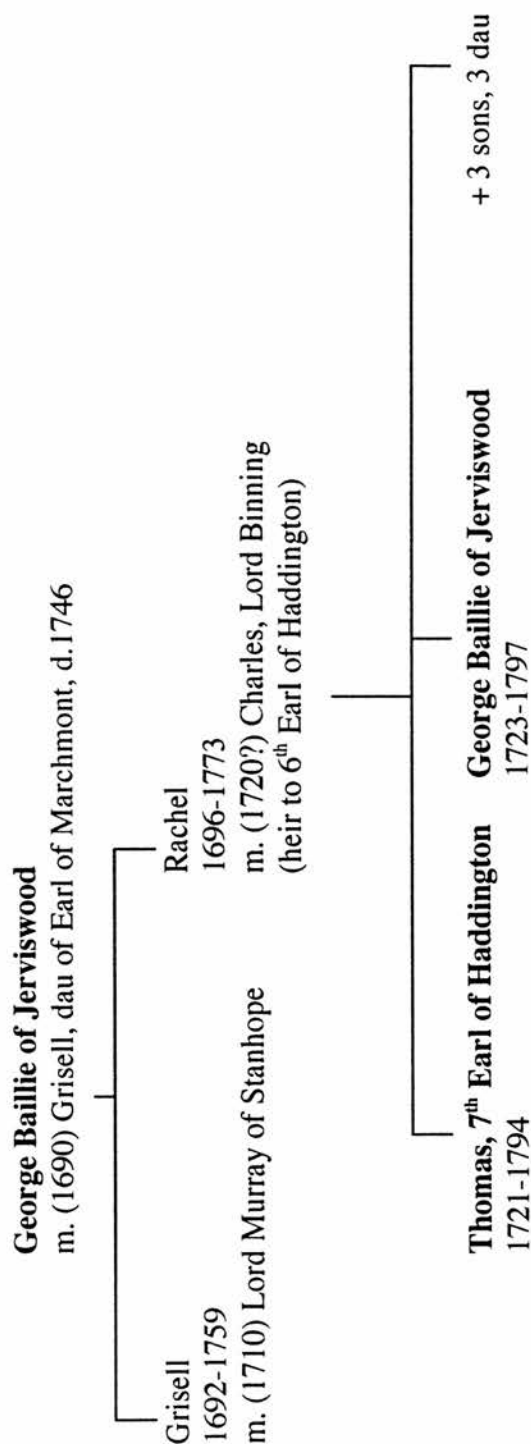
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APPENDIX 1

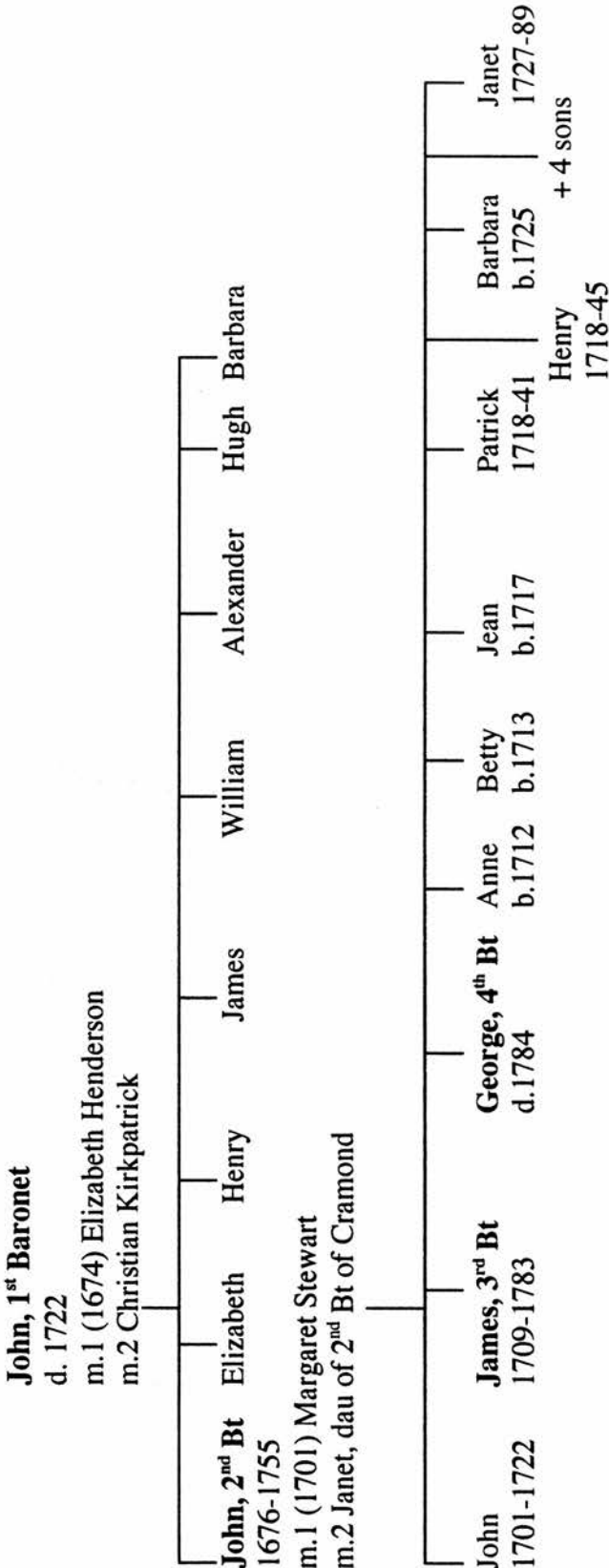
FAMILY TREES

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

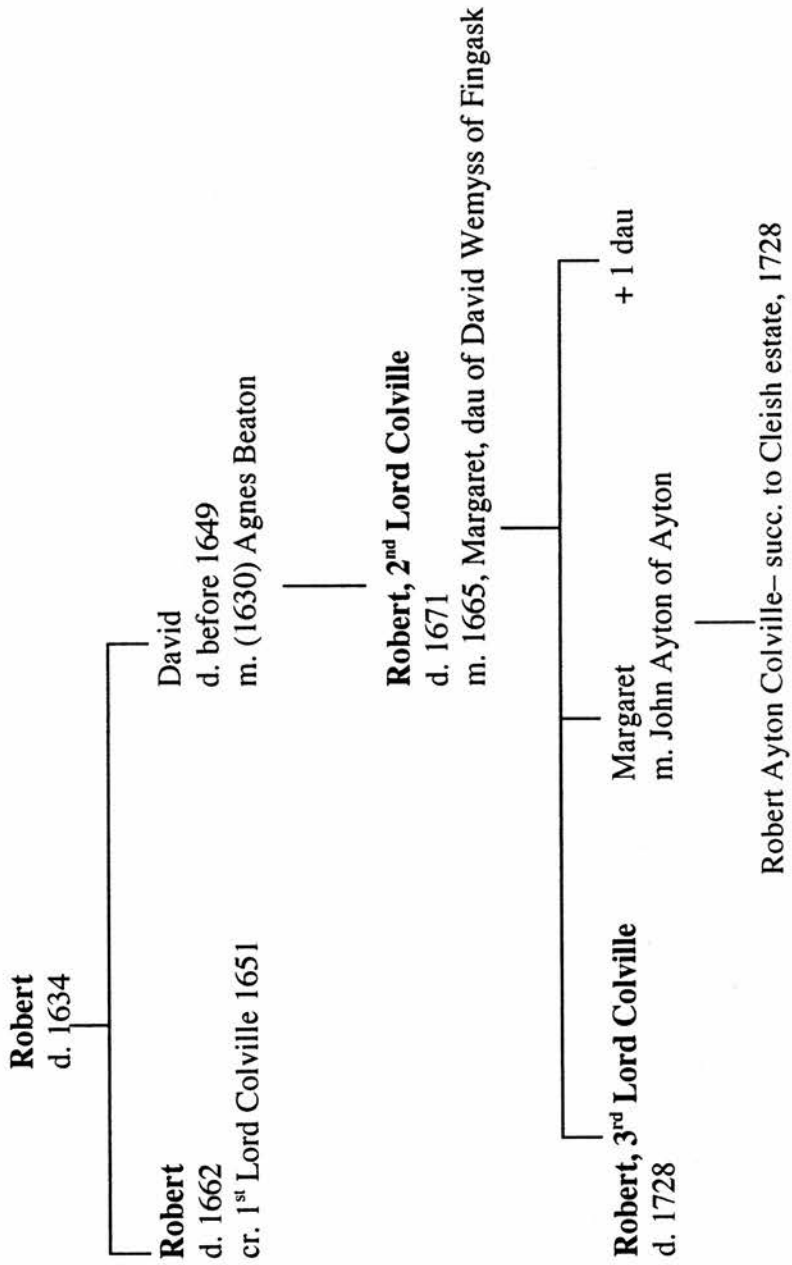
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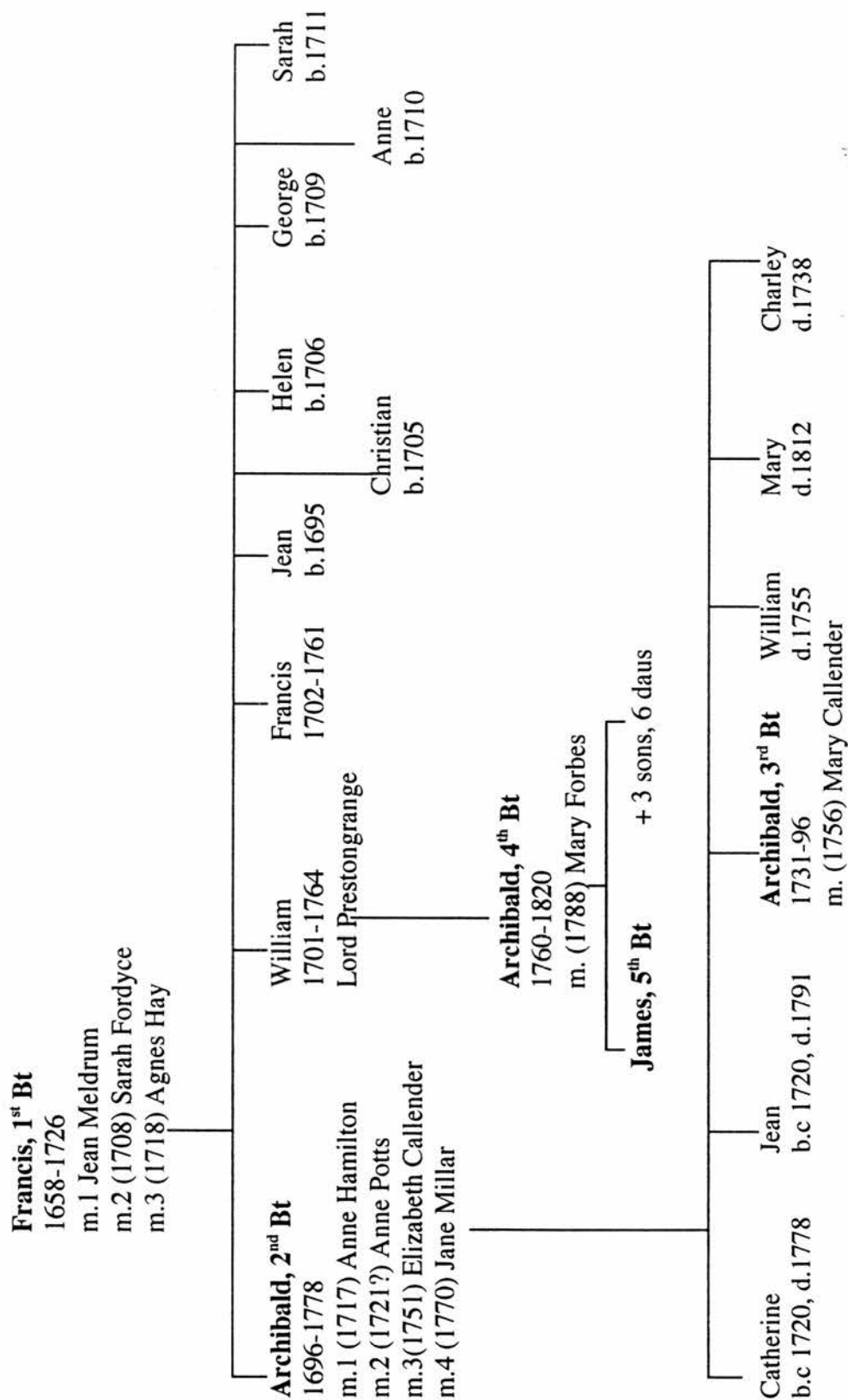
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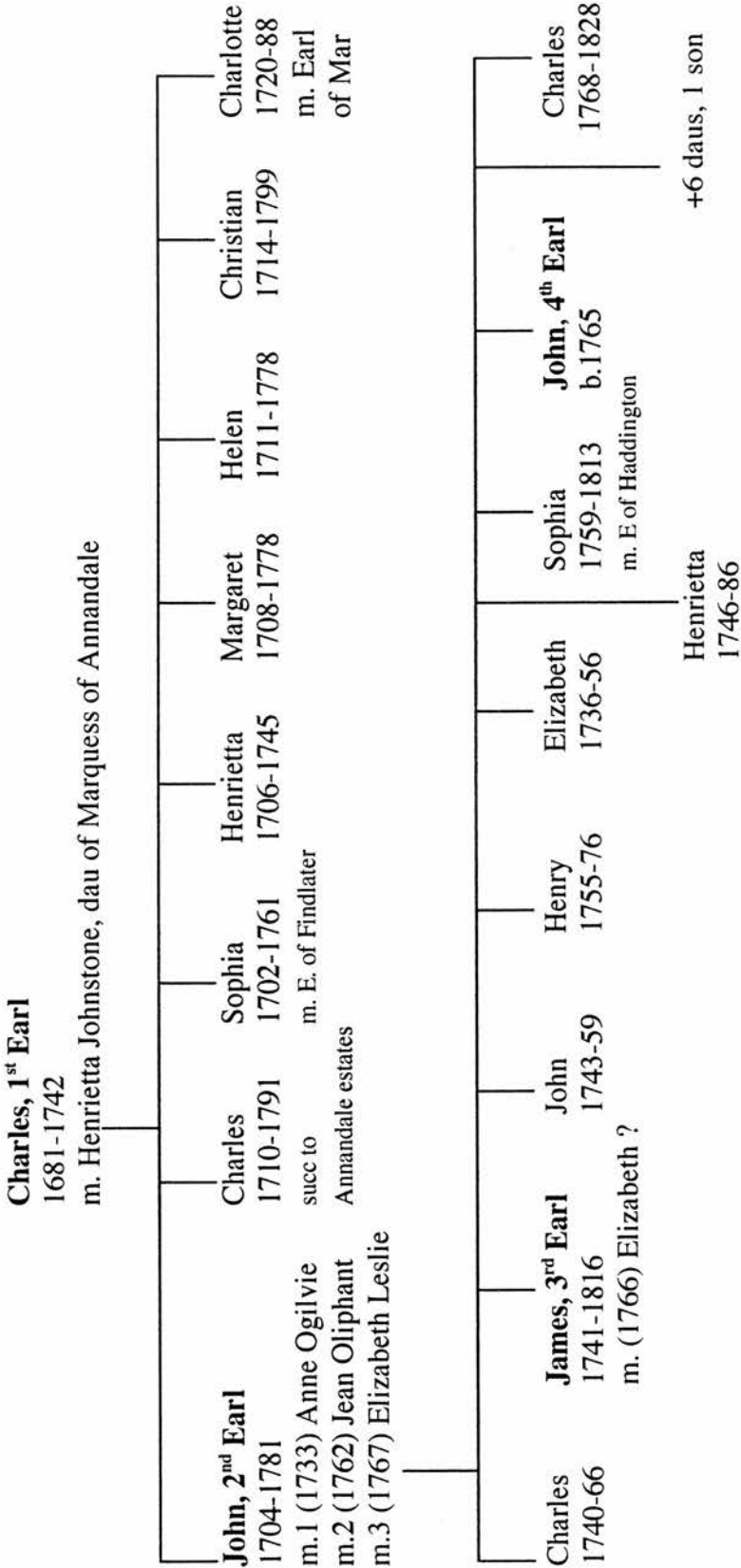
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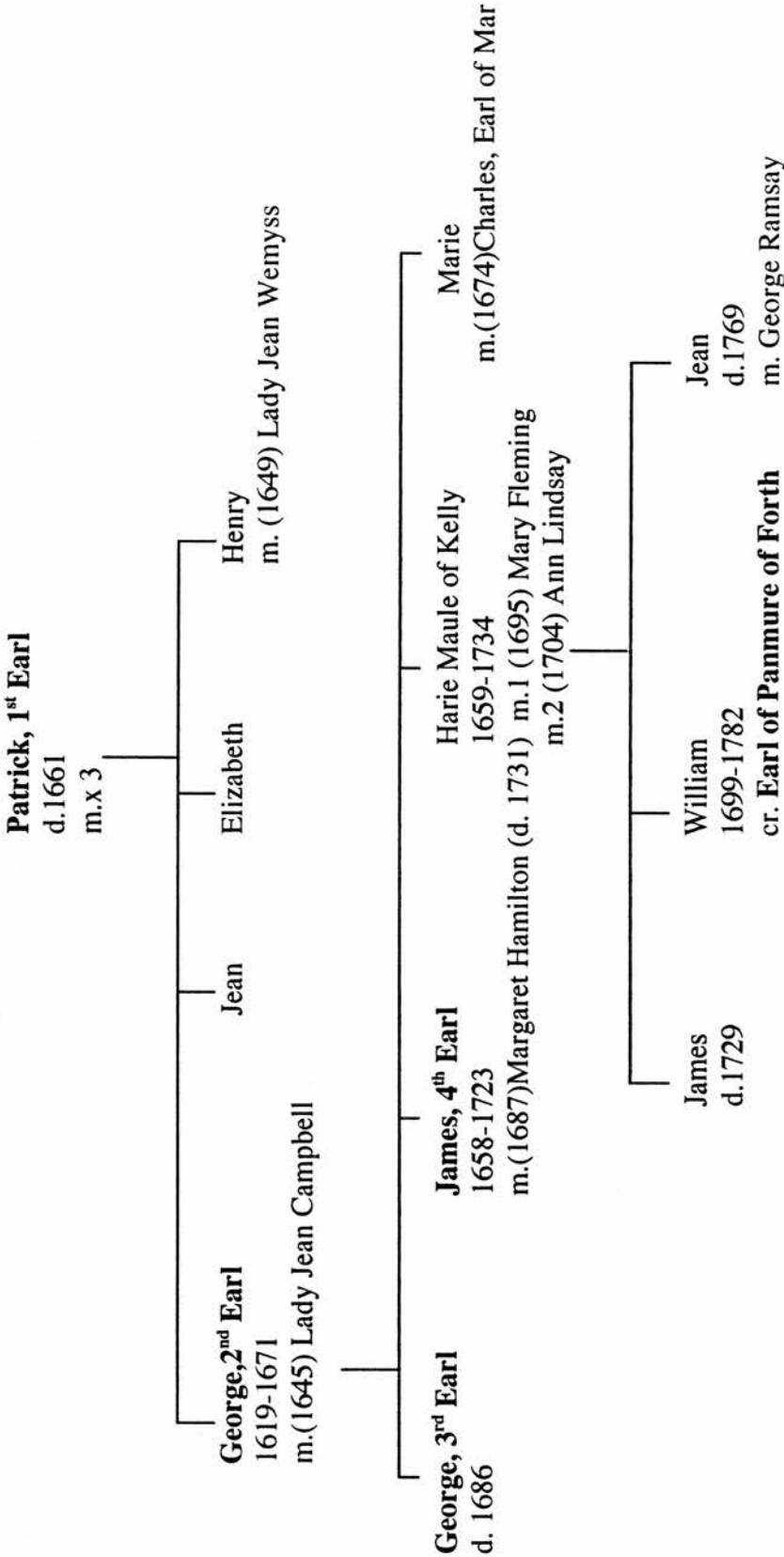
Grants of Monymusk



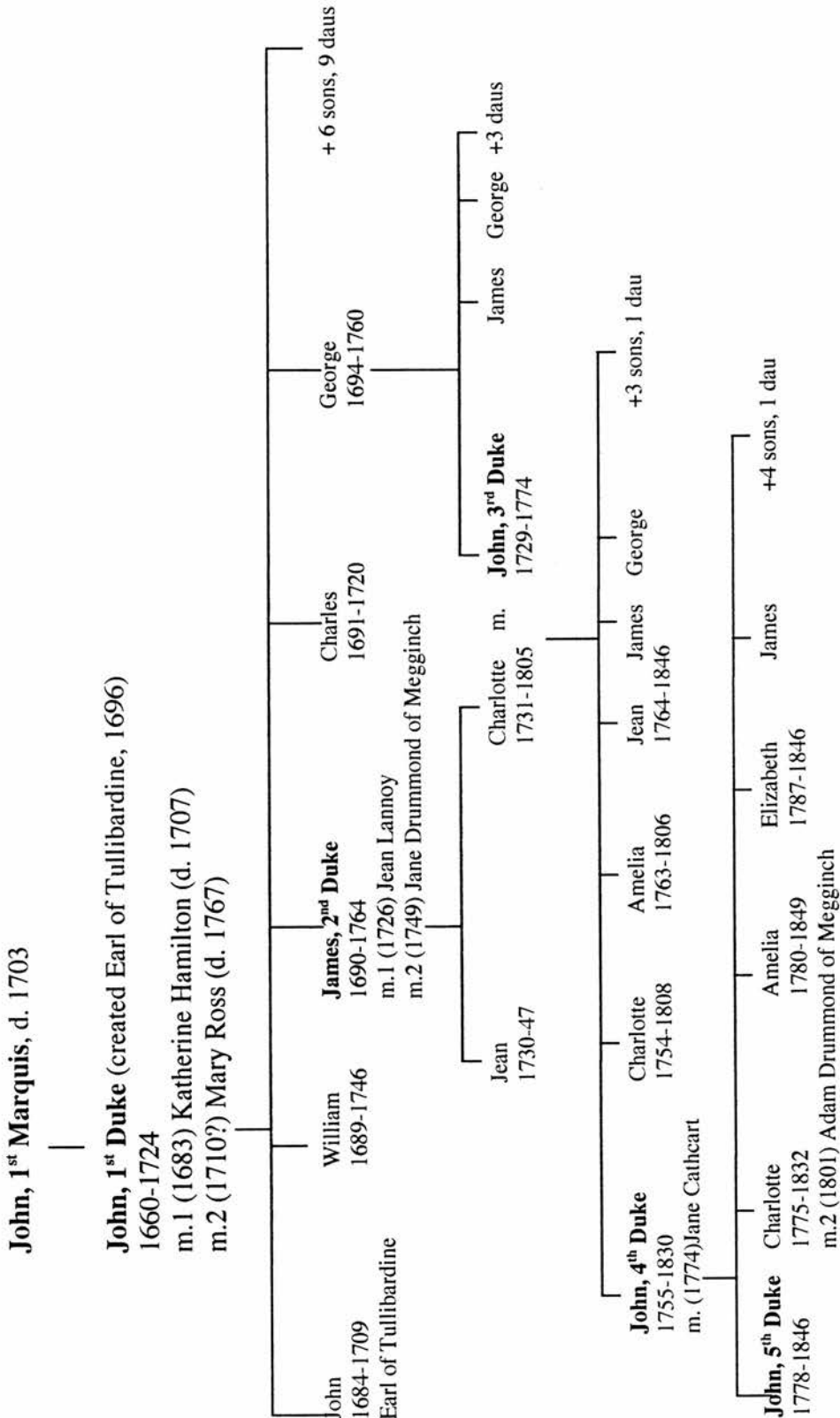
Hopes of Hopetoun



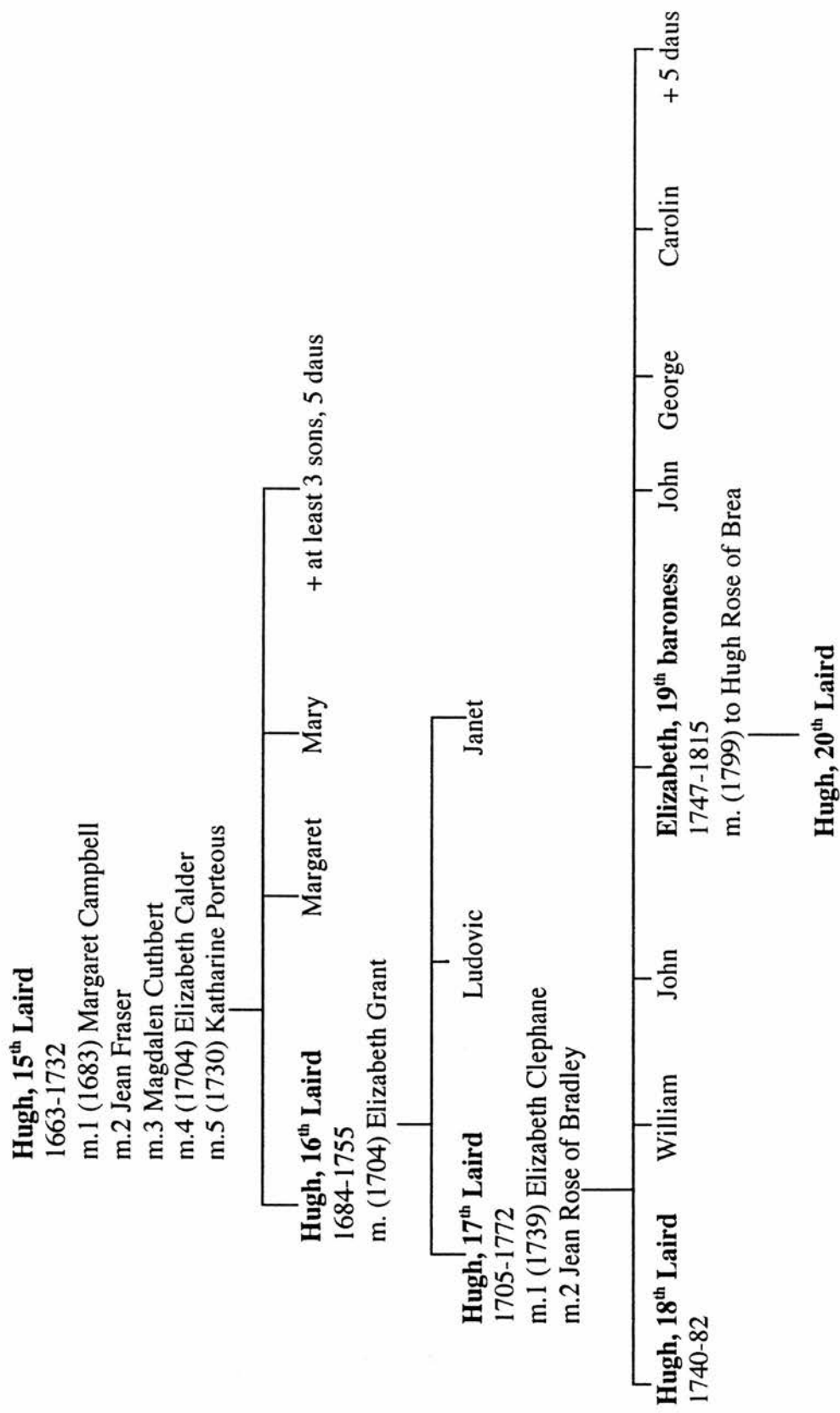
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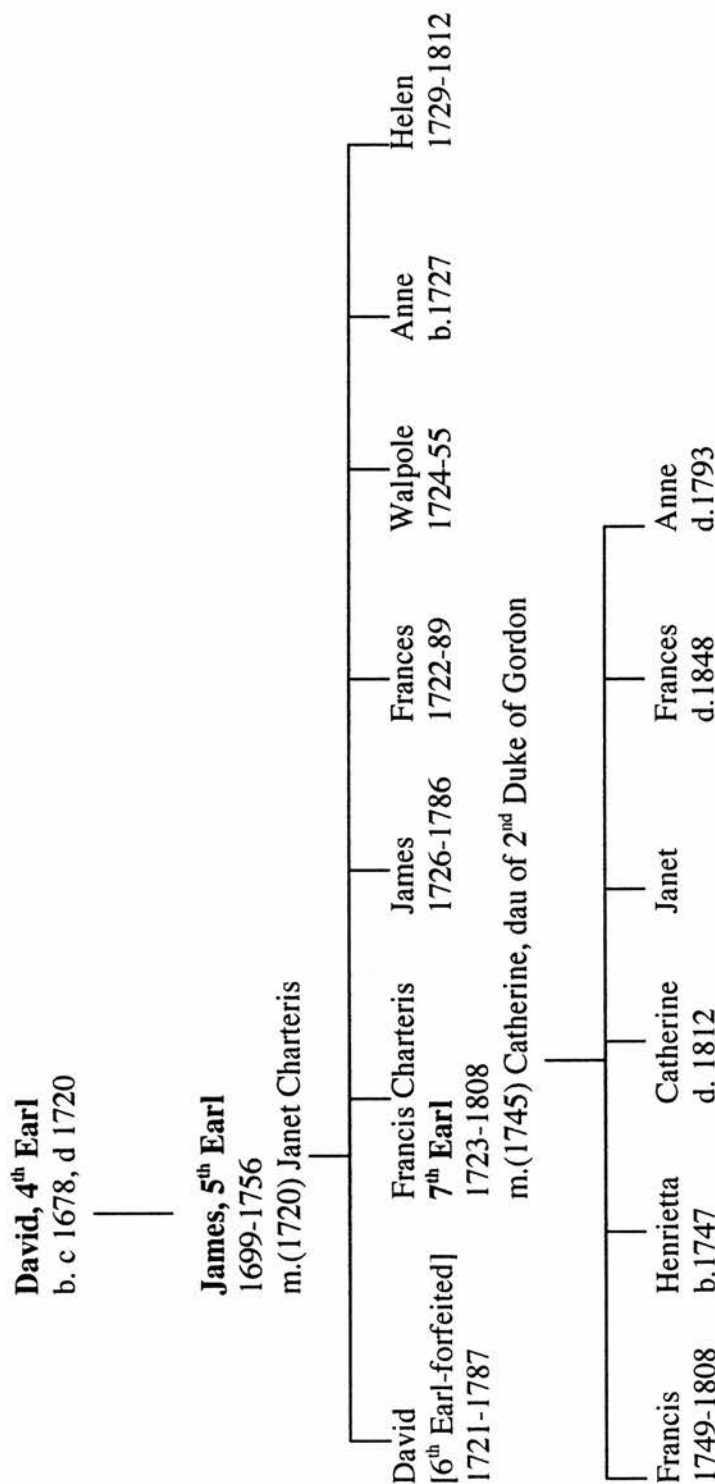
Murrays of Atholl



Rose of Kilravock



Wemyss of Wemyss



APPENDIX 2
DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

Baillie of Mellerstain
NRAS 104

Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692-1718 – photocopy in National Museum of Scotland

Household Books of Lady Grisell Baillie 1719-1742 and 1742-46 (at Mellerstain)

Vol 10 (from Clock Tower, Mellerstain): household accounts, Edinburgh, 1711-14

Vol 17 (from Clock Tower, Mellerstain): household accounts, London, 1719-23

MS Catalogue (1724?) of volumes in the library

A Catalogue of Mrs Murray's Books, 1725

A Catalogue of Mr Baillie's books, 1725

1971 insurance inventory of library at Mellerstain

Colville of Ochiltree

NLS MS 5290: Accounts by Colville's factor, John Halkerstone, 1708-19

AK Bell Library MS 183: title deeds for Cleish, mainly 19th century

Rose of Kilravock
GD 125

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|--|------------|--|
| 17 th -18 th cents | box 1 | inventories, library catalogues, family history |
| 1731-5 | box 25 | letters and papers (c 130) relating to Clephane family |
| 18 th -19 th cents | box 26 | correspondence, c 200 items |
| c 1740-57 | box 27 | correspondence |
| 18 th -19 th cents | box 29 | correspondence, c 250 items |
| 18 th cent | box 31 | accounts, correspondence, poetry, receipts |
| 18 th cent | box 32 | miscellaneous, including cash books, day books |
| 18 th -18 th cents | box 33 | journals etc of Clephane family |

Wemyss of Wemyss (Gosford House)

Ledger, 1756-1762

Ledger, 1766-72

**Clerk of Penicuik
GD 18**

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|-----------------------------|------------|---|
| 1646-59 | 2482 | commodities bought at London |
| 1654-1715 | 2173/1 | miscellaneous discharges |
| 1658-1814 | 1842/1 | miscellaneous household accounts |
| 1663-1720 | 2186 | general account book of John Clerk (1 st and 2 nd Bt's) |
| 1671-3 | 2188 | accounts of money spent by 1 st Bt on John Clerk |
| 1675-1888 | 2178 | accounts for education and board |
| 1676-7 | 2567 | expenditure abroad and London, including instruments |
| 1678 | 2285 | engagement of William Job, violer |
| 1692 | 5190 | letter regarding John Clerk at Glasgow University |
| 1692-3 | 5191 | 9 letters from John Clerk to father |
| 1692-4 | 2298 | letters and accounts of John Clerk at Glasgow University |
| 1693 | 5193 | letters re John Clerk's behaviour at Glasgow University |
| 1693-5 | 5194 | 19 letters to John Clerk from father re studies |
| 1694 | 5195 | letters from John to father re studying in Leiden |
| 1696-1700 | 5202 | letters to John Clerk while in Italy |
| c.1696 | 4536 | letters to John Clerk on music in Italy |
| 1699-1715 | 4537a | letters of Clerk to Boorerhaave on music (in Latin) |
| 1698 | 4537 | symphony (Odo di Mesto Intorno) by John Clerk |
| c.1698-1730? | 4538 | music by John Clerk |
| 1700 | 4539 | letters to Clerk from Hugo de Bois on music (in Latin) |
| 1706 | 2211 | expenses of John Clerk in London as Commisisoner for Union |
| 1708-22 | 2182/4 | bills of exchange, receipts |
| 1709-59 | 1843 | Lady Clerk's household account book |
| 1715-19 | 2221 | letters and accounts from John Clerk while at Eton |
| 1716-48 | 2173/2 | miscellaneous discharges |
| 1723-30 | 2182/5 | bills of exchange, receipts |
| 1723-50 | 5340 | letters from James to father on his travels in Italy etc |
| 1727-49 | 5361 | letters from John Clerk's brother Hugh – some on music |
| 1728-30 | 5033 | copies of letters by Sir John re education of his sons |
| 1729-50 | 4542 | letters to Thomas Blackwell – some on music |
| 1734 | 4542 | letter of recommendation for Sharreter, organist |
| 1739-46 | 5052 | letters to 2 nd Bt, mainly on antiquities |
| 1750-52 | 1812 | two lists of books at Mavisbank and Edinburgh |
| 1751 | 4543 | Notice of AGM of Edinburgh Musical Society |
| 1761 | 4894 | letter from James Adam regarding Fife fiddlers |
| early 18 th cent | 4541 | dissertation on music |
| early 18 th cent | 5176/6 | letter from Andrew Duff re sale of two viols |
| mid 18 th cent | 4552 | notes on music by Greek and Roman authors |
| mid 18 th cent | 4553 | library catalogue of music |
| mid 18 th cent | 4548 | discourse on music |
| mid-18 th cent | 2326 | "Advice to a Young Man" |

NLS MSS:

| | | |
|------|---------------------|---|
| 1724 | dep 187 | Penicuik Library Catalogue |
| 1735 | Adv MS 23.3.23 f.21 | letter from John Clerk to Patrick Lindsay |

Hope of Hopetoun
NRAS 888

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|-------------|---------------|---|
| 1698 | bundle 398 | Annandale accounts, personal and household |
| 1705-20 | bundle 2959 | accounts of factor to 1 st Earl |
| 1703-8 | box 54/3 | misc accounts and papers |
| 1706 | bundle 309 | inventory, Craigiehall |
| 1706-73 | box 53/5 | accounts etc of Earl |
| 1707 | bundle 310 | inventory of household furniture, Canongate |
| 1708-9 | bundle 2962 | factor's accounts |
| 1709-1715 | bundle 2963 | factor's accounts |
| 1710-34 | bundle 3025 | household accounts |
| 1716-25 | box 59/9 | expenses at London 1716-25 |
| 1717-20 | bundle 2964 | factor's accounts |
| 1721-2 | bundle 2965 | factor's accounts |
| 1722-5 | bundle 1658-9 | travel notebooks, Lord John |
| 1722-5 | bundle 576 | correspondence, Lord Hope abroad |
| 1723 | bundle 2966 | factor's accounts |
| 1723-7 | bundle 2968 | factor's accounts |
| 1724-6 | bundle 576 | letters from Lord Annandale to Lord Hope abroad |
| 1725-67 | box 60/3-15 | miscellaneous accounts and servants' wages |
| 1727 | bundle 612 | letters from Lord Hope in London |
| 1727 | bundle 1657 | list of things bought by Lord John in Italy |
| 1728-9 | bundle 1665 | Lord Annandale's accounts abroad |
| 1730-54 | bundle 446 | personal accounts |
| 1734-42 | vol 621 | money spent on family etc |
| 1734-61 | bundle 137/8 | personal accounts, John 2nd Earl |
| 1737-59 | box 141/4 | accounts for 2 nd Earl |
| 1737-41 | box 137/7 | family accounts |
| 1742-73 | vol 531 | general accounts |
| 1745-59 | box 52/3 | housekeeping vouchers |
| 1748-75 | vol 627 | policy accounts |
| 1748-51 | bundle 585 | expenses, Lady Betty, London |
| 1749 | box 59/1 | school expenses, Lady Betty |
| 1749-51 | box 65/2 | household expenses (Lady Betty) |
| 1750 | bundle 638 | receipt for Shudi harpsichord |
| 1750-1 | box 65 | expenses Lady Betty |
| 1758 | box 52/2 | housekeeping vouchers |
| 1758 | box 65/5 | discharges |
| 1758-78 | box 53/4 | accounts of Countess |
| 1758 | bundle 395 | housebook, Edinburgh |
| 1759 | box 65/1 | family disbursements |
| 1759-62 | vol 527 | Account of sundries |
| 1760-5 | bundle 589 | correspondence between 2 nd Earl and son |
| 1762-3 | vol 594 | cashbook no. 1 |
| 1764-8 | vol 523 | cashbook |
| 1766 | bundle 668 | letter to Lord Hope |
| 1766-7 | bundle 3235 | general accounts |
| 1767 | box 52/4 | miscellaneous 18 th -cent. papers |
| 1767-71 | vol 511 | ledger |
| 1768 | bundle 607 | general inventory of furniture |
| 1768-70 | vol 518 | cashbook |
| 1769 | box 107/6 | family disbursements |

| | | |
|---------|-------------|---|
| 1769-71 | bundle 451 | education accounts, Lord Henry, Edinburgh |
| 1772-88 | vol 555 | expenses |
| 1778 | bundle 596 | Prospectus of a work to be published by Puppo |
| 1781-3 | vol 519 | household expenditure |
| 1783 | bundle 3482 | letter from Tenducci |
| 1816 | bundle 310 | inventory |
| 1889 | | Sotheby's sale catalogue |
| 1936 | | insurance inventory, Hopetoun House |

Grant of Monymusk GD 345

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|-------------|------------|--|
| 1708-80 | 975/1-55 | inventories of household furniture |
| 1717 | 748 | memoir from Sir Francis to son Archibald regarding estates |
| 1717-59 | 800 | catalogues and other documents regarding books |
| 1718 | 935 | day book |
| 1733-45 | 585 | notebooks of Sir Archibald |
| 1717-21 | 1145 | letters of Anna Hamilton to Sir Archibald |
| 1724-42 | 598 | accounts and family expenses |
| 1726-61 | 1379 | inventories |
| 1728-51 | 942 | household accounts at Edinburgh |
| 1731-1740 | 928 | day book of Sir Archibald Grant's family Expenses |
| 1735-40 | 929 | household accounts |
| 1735-7 | 926 | a book of petty disbursements and of particular branches of the family expences |
| 1737-49 | 1174 | letters from children to Sir Archibald |
| 1741 | 930 | housebook |
| 1745-69 | 900 | papers concerning education |
| 1760 | 1208 | list of music; letter from Francis Peacock |
| 1884-7 | 1442 | list of manuscripts and valuables at Monymusk |

**Maule of Panmure
GD 45**

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|-------------|------------|--|
| 1532-1701 | 18/1239 | list of books |
| 1662-5 | 18/962 | household discharges |
| 1666-80 | 14/141 | letters to Lady Panmure regarding tutor |
| 1667 | 18/963 | household discharges |
| 1670 | 18/964 | household discharges |
| 1671 | 18/965 | household discharges |
| 1671-82 | 18/1316 | household and personal accounts, Kelly |
| 1678 | 14/315 | letter to Harie at Angers |
| 1678-85 | 18/730 | notebook of servants and wages |
| 1679 | 14/183 | letter from George to brothers in France |
| 1680 | 14/171 | letter to George re brothers abroad |
| 1680 | 18/975 | household and personal accounts, Panmure |
| 1680-1 | 18/976 | household and personal accounts, Panmure |
| 1682-3 | 18/977 | household and personal accounts, Panmure |
| 1682-95 | 23/20 | Harie: bills of exchange (Holland) |
| 1685 | 27/130 | list of books left at Edinburgh |
| 1686 | 18/857 | inventory of household stuff at Panmure |
| 1686-1734 | 14/316 | letters (business) by Harie |
| 1689 | 14/186 | correspondence, James |
| 1690 | 18/730 | money spent in Edinburgh, London and Tunbridge |
| 1691-2 | 14/188 | correspondence, James |
| 1695 | 18/864 | inventory of furniture at Panmure |
| 1695-1733 | 14/321 | correspondence to and from Harie |
| 1699-1701 | 14/324 | correspondence to and from Harie |
| 1699-1715 | 18/870 | Earl's personal and household expenses |
| 1701 | 18/1239 | list of books |
| 1703-19 | 18/1244 | inventories, various places |
| 1704-7 | 18/1330 | Household accounts, Kelly |
| 1708-9 | 18/1331 | Household accounts, Kelly |
| 1710-20 | 18/1332 | Household accounts, Kelly |
| 1712 | 18/1333 | Household accounts, Kelly |
| 1714 | 18/909 | inventory of furniture at Edinburgh, |
| 1715 | 26/73 | narratives of James and Harie during the rebellion |
| 1716 | 27/23 | letter bestowing order of thistle of James |
| 1716-23 | 23/85 | accounts for Earl abroad |
| 1717 | 26/74 | journal of journey by Earl from Avignon to Pesaro |
| 1719-21 | 23/84 | accounts for Earl in Paris |
| 1720 | 26/75 | journal of journey to Maule in France by Earl and nephew |
| 1721 | 14/388 | letters from Jean to father Harie |
| 1722 | 14/297 | letters from James (Paris) to Margaret |
| 1726-7 | 26/36 | notebook (James Maule) concerning genealogy |
| 1734 | 18/1293 | inventory of manuscripts at Panmure |

NLS MS 17804: Copy of a Short Account of the life of James Earle of Panmure

Murray of Blair Castle
NRAS 234

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Ref</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|---|-----------------|---|
| 1642-1765 | Box 42.II (4) | household inventories |
| c1690-1705 | Box 44.VI | correspondence |
| 1696-1773 | Box 42.III (10) | wages to servants, including musicians |
| 1696-1890 | | catalogue of contents of Blair Castle, library |
| | | catalogue |
| 1696 | Box 44.V (3) | wages paid to musicians and servants |
| 1696-7 | Box 62.V.1 | accounts of housekeepers and tutors |
| 1699-1701 | Box 45.(1) | correspondence |
| 1702 | Box 45.(2) | correspondence |
| 1705 | Box 45 (5) | correspondence |
| 1705-54 | Box 42.III (1) | documents relating to education of Duke John's sons |
| 1706 | Box 45 (6) | correspondence |
| 1707 | Box 45. (7) | correspondence |
| 1708-9 | Box 45 (8) | correspondence |
| 1710-11 | Box 45 (9) | correspondence |
| 1722-65 | Box 51.II.B | miscellaneous accounts |
| 1727-44 | Box 51.II.D (1) | accounts |
| 1745-63 | Box 51.II.D(3) | accounts |
| 1746 | Bundle 27 | inventory, including Tullibardine |
| 1746-1921 | Bundles 49-50 | inventories, notes, etc relating to musical instruments |
| 1756 | | Atholl House inventory |
| 1769 | Bundle 698 | purchase of organ |
| 1777 | | Atholl House inventory |
| 1857 | Bundle 54 | accounts |
| 19 th -20 th cent | Bundle 31 | manuscript music (relating to Atholl) |

APPENDIX 3

**INCIPITS FOR RECENTLY-DISCOVERED
OR LITTLE-KNOWN WORKS
BY COMPOSERS RESIDENT IN SCOTLAND**

Cornforth Gilson

5 lessons for guitar in NLS MS Acc 11420 (1):

1st lesson, f 9v



Another copy of this was found in Grace Campbell's MS, in the Boughton House Music collection, Northampton Record Office, (property of the Duke of Buccleuch), described as "Gilson lesson 3d"

2nd lesson, f 10r



3rd lesson, f 10v-11r



Another copy of this was found in Grace Campbell's MS, in the Boughton collection, described as "Gilson lesson 2nd"

4th lesson, f 11r-11v



5th lesson, f 12r



Another copy of this was found in Grace Campbell's MS, in the Boughton collection, described as "Gilson lesson 1st"

Cornforth Gilson: spurious works

NLS MS Acc 11420 (1), 6 further pieces for guitar, not attributed to Gilson, but copied in same hand as guitar lessons referred to above.

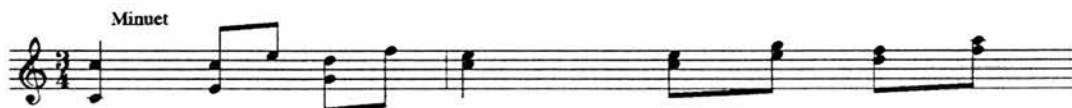
f13v



f16r



f37v-38v



Leonardo Pescatore

1. Lesson for harpsichord, NLS MS Acc I 1420 (3) f 4v-5r; and in Bremner: *Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1761)



Stephen Clarke

Two sonatas for the pianoforte or harpsichord in which are introduced favorite Scotch Airs, op 3, pub. J Preston, London, [1796]. Copies in Edinburgh Central Library, British Library, London, and Boughton House Music Collection (in a miscellaneous keyboard compilation, no call number). The Boughton copy is dedicated to Miss Erskine jnr of Mar and inscribed "to Miss P B McMurdo with respectfull compliments from the author".

Sonata 1:



Rondo scherzando moderato. Tha Auld Wife Ayont the Fire. a Scotch Air



Sonata 2:

Allegro con spirito




Andante. Scotch Air



The Deuks Dang O'er my Daddie, pub Edinburgh, [c1800] by John Hamilton. Copies in British Library and in Boughton House Music Collection (in a miscellaneous keyboard compilation, no call number).

Rondeau Moderato Scherzando. "the Deuks Dang O'er my Daddie", Scotch Air



Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte with an accompaniment for the violin, op 1, pub. Edinburgh [1790?] for the author. Copy in British Library, and manuscript copies of no. 1 and no.3 appear in Boughton House manuscript MC.2.6.

Sonata no.1



Rondeau Moderato



Sonata no. 3



Presto



Cocklin

“Violin Solo by Mr Cocklin”, NLS MS Acc 11420 (2) p 30-33, Violin + Basso Continuo



Largo



Minuetto



“Solo Violin Mr Cocklin”, NLS MS Acc 11420 (2) p 34-41, Violin + Basso Continuo

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



The first section, 'Allegro', is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a common time signature (C). It consists of a single staff with a melody starting on a half note, followed by eighth and sixteenth notes. The second section, 'Adagio', is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note. The third section, 'Minuetto', is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note.

“Solo by Mr Cocklin”, NLS MS Acc 11420 (2) p 42-44, Violin only



Adagio



Minuet



The first section is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note. The second section, 'Adagio', is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note. The third section, 'Minuet', is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps and a 3/4 time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note.

“Largo and Gratoso by Mr Cocklin”, NLS MS Acc 11420 (2) p 51-53, Violin + Basso Continuo

Largo



Gratoso



The first section, 'Largo', is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a common time signature (C). It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note. The second section, 'Gratoso', is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. It features a melody with a half note, a quarter note, and a half note.

APPENDIX 4
DESCRIPTION OF NLS MS Acc 11420

These three manuscripts were acquired by the National Library of Scotland in 1997. They were bought from a bookseller in London, and were known to be from Kilravock Castle near Inverness. They provide important insights into teaching and copying practices in eighteenth-century Scotland, as well as being valuable sources of several previously unknown works.

Physical Description

- MS 11420 (1): 28cm x 23 cm. 41 folios. Brown leather binding with no title. Decorated gilt edging. In poor condition: the binding is corroded and very loose, and several pages have been removed or defaced. No page numbers – all references to folio numbers are mine. Reversed from f 31. Signs of use, eg pencilled fingering.
- MS 11420 (2): 30cm x 23cm. 44 folios. Brown leather binding with no title. Plain gilt edging. In poor condition. Signed in very ornate hand “H Rose” on endpaper. Pages numbered by scribes, but numbers are trimmed off from p. 40 on. Reversed from p.59.
- MS 11420 (3) 29cm x 23 cm. Dark leather binding with no title. Plain gilt edging. Signed “El: Rose Kilravock Novr 28th” on first page. No page numbers – all references to folio numbers are mine. Reversed from f 44.

Gathering Structures

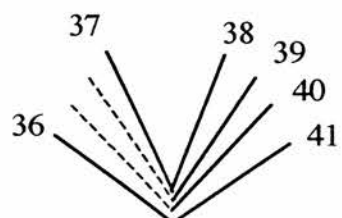
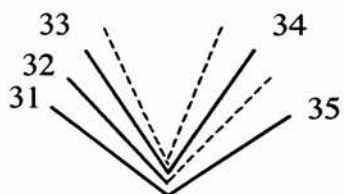
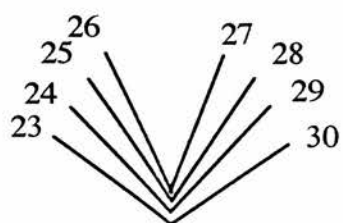
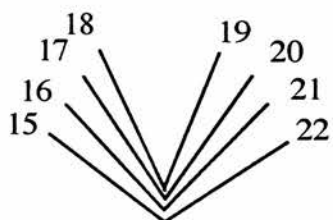
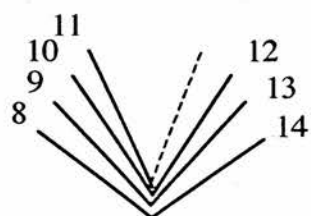
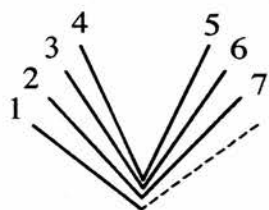
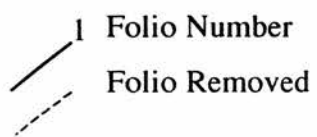
MS Acc 11420 (1) has six gatherings (as shown on p. 285). The third and fourth gatherings are regular with four bifolia. The remaining four gatherings lack pages, but were all originally of eight folia.

MS Acc 11420 (2) has eight gatherings, each of three bifolia (see p. 286). Pages have been removed from the sixth and eighth gatherings.

MS Acc 11420 (3) is the most regular of the three manuscripts, with six eight-bifolio gatherings, all complete (see p. 286).

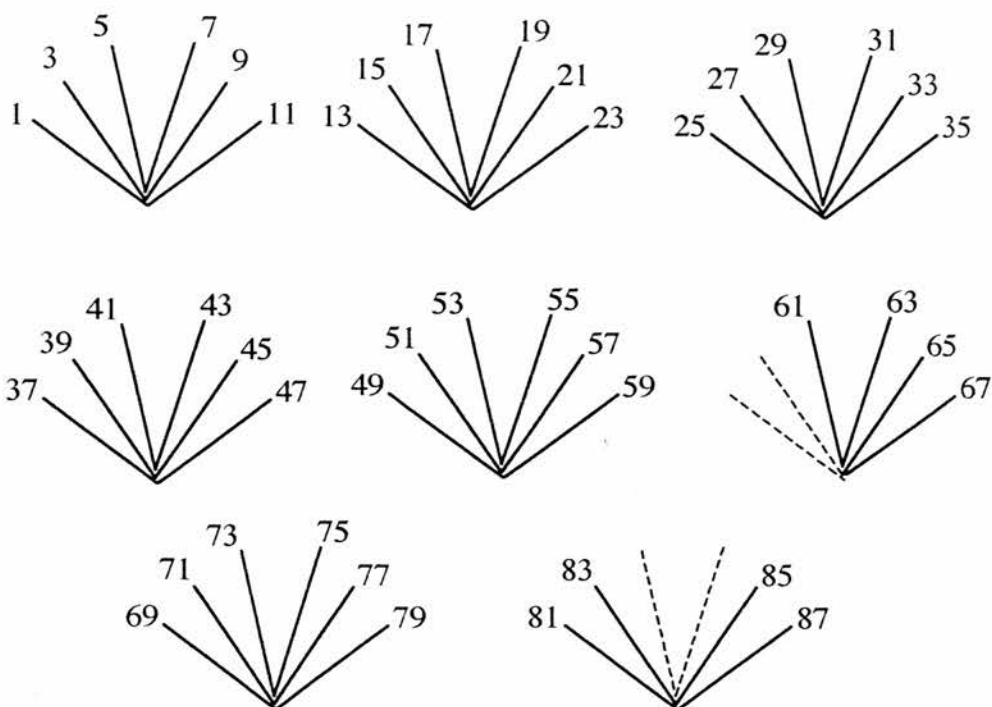
Pieces are copied across gatherings in each of the manuscripts, indicating that the scribes were presented with the bound book to copy the next piece into, rather than writing on separate fascicles which were later bound together. This latter method would mean blank pages at the end of fascicles, and different numbers of staves per page would be expected according to the rastrum used by each scribe (clearly each manuscript was ruled before music was copied). Further evidence that the scribes were presented with a bound book to copy into comes with two pieces which have been copied twice. In MS Acc 11420 (1) f.38r (the book is reversed by this point) the Abel violin solo from f.8r has been started - and scored out - by the "guitar music" scribe, and the first few bars of Eliza Rose's reel (f.1r) are scribbled on f.3r of the same manuscript, adding weight to the proposition that the books were bound before the scribes started entering music. Where pages have been removed, there are no sudden breaks in pieces, indicating either that folia were removed before that part of the manuscript had been used, or that providentially, the removed folios contained complete pieces.

MS1



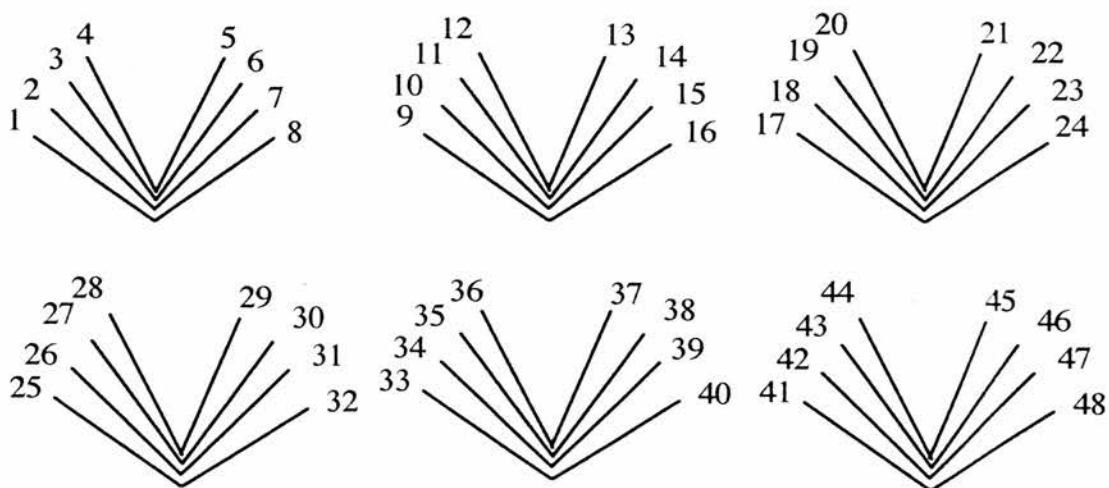
MS2

1 Page Number
Page Removed



MS3

1 Folio Number
Folio Removed



Repertoire

63 of the 114 items in the 3 manuscripts can be positively identified, through comparison with thematic catalogues and printed editions (many of which are in the British Library in London). A further 14 items may be unique; some unique items by unknown or little-known composers who were probably working in Scotland have been cited in Appendix 3. No identification was found for some twenty per cent of the repertoire, mostly in cases where the attribution was very vague in the manuscript, and where no thematic catalogue exists. Identification of the remaining 12 pieces was problematic because printed editions were not available for comparison, but the most obvious concordance has been suggested in these cases (see for example the Giardini sonatas in MS 1, where the only printed edition is missing, and the Abel violin sonata, also manuscript 1, where the only known copy was lost, presumed destroyed, during the 20th century).

The repertoire in the second manuscript is the most homogenous, being mainly for solo violin and copied by a single scribe. In the other two manuscripts, arias from London operas are freely interspersed with standard keyboard works and keyboard reductions of symphonies and overtures, along with music for guitar and Scottish folk songs. In MS Acc 11420 (1), folio 26v to 28r, it seems that miscellaneous keyboard pieces in Bb major by Handel and Stanley have been copied together to make a suite (musette, variations, minuet, air). The Allegro from Weideman's Duets for 2 flutes op 4, reproduced on pp. 14-15 of MS Acc 11420 (2) is noteworthy in that it ought to be in G major, but the scribe has used a key signature of two sharps – it must have sounded rather strange!

The two songs from Pasquali's *Triumph of Hibernia* are probably unique – Johnson lists it as a masque in his article on Pasquali in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and states that only the overture has survived. The movement of a symphony (in full score) in MS Acc 11420 (3) f. 46v-47v is also significant, and may be a "lost" work by Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kelly (see Chapter 6 of this work, p. 228, for details).

Scribes



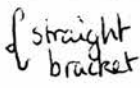







Twelve different scribes seem to have been involved in the compilation of MS Acc 11420 (1) and MS Acc 11420 (3). Most of these were responsible for only a few pages in one or other manuscript, and the bulk of both manuscripts was copied by a single, presumed professional, scribe (listed as scribes C and G in the table on p. 287). The only other scribe to have contributed more than a few pages is scribe B, who copied all the guitar music in MS Acc 11420 (1), and could conceivably be Cornforth Gilson. Most of the scribes who contributed a single piece are untidy, presumably amateur – these may be instances where members of the family have copied repertoire, or where the manuscript was given to friends to copy a piece in their possession. Otherwise, it seems that each volume was copied mainly by (or perhaps at the instigation of) the person who was responsible for teaching the owner of the volume. In both these volumes the repertoire copied by the main scribe is a mixture of harpsichord reductions of current symphonies¹ and vocal music, most of which has been identified as songs from London operas and individual songs printed at various times in London.

If the assumption that the main scribe of each volume was a music teacher is correct, then the random layout of repertoire would suggest that lessons involved both singing and playing, and pupil and teacher swapped between these freely. Other professional scribes such as scribe B were probably commissioned to add certain pieces to the manuscripts; most other such pieces are for string instruments (violin and guitar). With the possible exception of scribes C and M, who may be the same person, there are no scribes who have contributed to both volumes.

MS Acc 11420 (2) is almost entirely in a heavy professional hand, and the violin repertoire is well-ordered and neatly copied. This layout would suggest that the original owner presented a scribe with the new book and instructions of the violin music he wanted copied, and at a later date the additional repertoire, which is not for violin was added by various different scribes.

¹ These appear to have been done by the scribe: there are, for example, significant differences between the reductions of the Kelly symphonies in MS 1 and Corri's printed reductions which were available for comparison in the NLS.

Scribes in NLS MS Acc 11420 (1) and (3)

| Scribe (designation) | Pages copied | Characteristics |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| A | MS1 f1v-7v MS1 f41v |  C off end of stave flimsy at end |
| B (all guitar repertoire) | MS1 f8v-12r MS1 f13v MS1 f16r MS1 f37v-40r |  C not tidy C = 4 |
| C | MS1 f14r MS1 f16v-30r MS1 f31v-37r (MS1 f12v-13r?) |  straight bracket  deliberate, sometimes to right:  |
| D | MS1 f14v-15v MS1 f 40v-41r |  C |
| E | MS1 f30v-31r |  small, leans left |
| F | MS1 f37r | very untidy |
| G | MS3 f1r MS3 f12v MS3 f14r MS3 f17v-29r MS3 f30v-43v MS3 f45v-46r |   bracket often very messy |
| H | MS3 f6v-8v | G = 2 - on top 3 lines small and neat |
| J | MS3 f9r-12v MS3 f13v-16v MS3 f29v-30r | small C = 2, over 4 lines |
| K | MS3 f17r | very untidy |
| L (Earl of Kelly?) | MS3 f46v-47v | Most clefs missing, beams not joining; messy scrawl |
| M | MS 3 f1v-6v MS3 f13r MS3 f44r-45r | C above top of bass stave Straight bracket, straight  |

Provenance

Most of the repertoire in the three manuscripts was also circulating in printed (mainly London) editions dating from the 1750's and 1760's. Most of the London editions of songs and opera arias would have been available in the Edinburgh branches of, for example, Bremner's music shop. The inclusion of the pieces by Gilson in MS 1 and the piece by Pescatore in MS 3 might suggest an Edinburgh provenance for these two manuscripts, as both were working in Edinburgh at this time, and neither had much music in print.

The first and third manuscripts, which appear to be teaching volumes, were probably copied for Elizabeth Rose, daughter of the 17th Laird of Kilravock, who succeeded her brother as nineteenth baron(ess) in 1782. MS Acc 11420 (2) may have been copied for either the 17th or the 18th barons; both were advocates, and both apparently led very cultured lives.² The 17th baron died in 1772, and his son the 18th baron died in 1782.

² See the *Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*. The 18th baron was "fond of music and theatricals" p 466 and his discourses with Henry Mackenzie on London operas are reproduced in the book. Music evenings initiated by the 17th baron are described by his daughter (see Chapter 2, p. 58).

| Folio number | Title | Identification |
|--------------|--|--|
| 1r | Eleza Rose her Reel | [Written by or for Elizabeth Rose, daughter of 17th Baron of Kilravock) |
| 1v-3r | Lesson 1 st by the King of Prussia | An unknown work by Frederick the Great? All known works are for flute, but this is not one of the 121 flute sonatas (thematic index in collected edition, pub 1889, ed P Spitta). |
| 3v-5r | Lesson 2d Del Sigre Degiardino | Felice de Giardini: probably from op 3: <i>Sei Sonate de cembalo con violino</i> . . . 1751 (copy in Lbl is missing) |
| 5v-7v | 1 st Sonata by Degiardino | Felice de Giardini: probably from op 3: <i>Sei Sonate de cembalo con violino</i> . . . 1751 (copy in Lbl is missing). |
| 8r-9r | Violine Solo Abel | C F Abel. This is not known now, and is probably from 12 Sonatas for violin and continuo, published as op. 1, c1705. The only known copy of this was in Rostock University in 1899 (according to Eitner), but is now lost. |
| 9v | Lesson by Mr Gilson for ye Guittar 1 st | Not known from other sources |
| 10r | Lesson by Mr Gilson for ye Guittar 2 nd | Not known from other sources |
| 10v-11r | Lesson by Mr Gilson for ye Guittar 3 rd | Not known from other sources |
| 11r-11v | Lesson by Mr Gilson for ye Guittar 4 th | Not known from other sources |
| 12r | Lesson by Mr Gilson for ye Guittar 5 th | Not known from other sources |

| | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| 12v-13r | "Tis not wealth it is not birth" sung by Miss Brent | From pasticcio <i>Love in a Village</i> , London 1763 |
| 13v | Lesson for the Guitar | Unknown? Perhaps by Gilson. |
| 14r | "The World is a well-furnished table" sung by Mr Beards | From pasticcio <i>Love in a Village</i> , London 1763 |
| 14v-15r | "Come fair one and rove throw the vale" | Music by J Dunn, London, ?1755 |
| 15v | "Cloe you'r witty" | Popular song printed London ?1715, author unknown |
| 16r | An air for the Guitar | Unknown? Perhaps by Gilson. |
| 16v-20v | Overture by the Earl of Kelly | Harpichord reduction of Kelly's symphony op 1/III (symphony pub by Bremner, 1761) |
| 20v-24v | Concerto by the Right Honorable Earl of Kellie | Harpichord reduction of Kelly's symphony Op 1/II (symphony pub by Bremner, 1761) |
| 24v – 26r | Gavotta (for keyboard) | Not found. |
| 26v-27v | Musette and Variations by Mr Stanley | Not from J Stanley: Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord op 1 or op4. No thematic catalogue to enable identification of concordant ms sources |
| 27v | Minuet by Mr Handel | Not found. |
| 28r | Air by Mr Stanley | Not from J Stanley: Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord op 1 or op4. No thematic catalogue to enable identification of concordant ms sources. |
| 28v – 30r | Felton's Minuet | Probably From Felton Eight Suits of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord op 3 (1752) or vol 2, op 6 (1757). |

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| 30v-31r | Air by Mr Felton | Probably From Felton Eight Suits of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord op 3 or vol 2, op 6. |
| 31v-32r | "Wou'd you tast[e] the noon tide air to you" as sung by Miss Brent in the masque of Comas | From Arne: <i>Comus</i> , 1738 |
| 33r | Cantata: The Cheerful spring begins today (recit and aria) | From Boyce: <i>Solomon</i> , 1743 |
| 33v-34r | Song by Mr Claggett, "Blest as the Immortal Gods" (melody line only) | Either anon London song printed c 1725 (Lbl copy missing) or version by James Worgan, printed 1745 (Lbl copy is missing) |
| 34v | Song in Semele by Mr Handel, "O Sleep why dost thou leave me" | Handel: <i>Semele</i> , 1744 |
| 35r-v | The Song of Diana in the Messiah "With horns and with hounds" | Not the Messiah. From Boyce: <i>The Secular Masque</i> , c 1746. Identical to version in MS Acc 11420 (2) p 5, different scribes. |
| 36r-37r | "the Bard invites" sung by Mrs Clive in Lethe | From <i>Lethe</i> : Farce by D Garrick, 1749. Vocal music by Arne, Boyce etc. |
| 37r | Vocal trio: "Hark how the Solemn Bell" | Not found. |
| 37v-38v | Lesson for ye Guitar | Not known |
| 38v-39r | 3 songs from the Contrivances | Henry Carey: <i>The Contrivances</i> , comedy 1715, revised as ballad opera 1729. Second and third of these are as MS Acc 11420 (2) p 87, though the second is transposed. |

| | | |
|---------|--|---|
| 39r | The Flowers of the Forest | Scottish air. (melody line only) |
| 39v | Aria del Sigr Galluppi for the Guitar (vocal line + orchestral ritornellos) | <i>La Pastorella al Prato</i> from Galuppi: <i>Il Filosofo di campagna</i> , 1761 |
| 40r | Patience's Song with Queen Cath: in Henry the 8 | No 18 th century version found. |
| 41r-41v | "Sounds tho charming can't relieve thee" | Not found. |
| 41v(?) | Instructions for tuning [harpsichord] and examples of clefs | |

MS 11420 (2)

| Page number | Title | Identification |
|-------------|--|---|
| 1 | Corellis VIIIth concerto | From Corelli: Concerto Grosso op 6 no 8 (Christmas Concerto) (first violin part only) |
| 1 | From IV concerto | From Corelli: Concerto Grosso op 6, no 4 (first violin part only) |
| 2-3 | Concerto IX | From Corelli: Concerto Grosso op 6, no 9 (first violin part only) |
| 3-4 | Xth Concerto | From Corelli: Concerto Grosso op 6, no 10 (first violin part only) |
| 4-5 | XIth Concerto | From Corelli: Concerto Grosso op 6, no 11 (first violin part only) |
| 5-6 | The Song of Dianna in the Messiah | Not the Messiah. From Boyce: <i>The Secular Masque</i> , c 1746. Identical to version in MS Acc 11420 (1) f 35r-v, different scribes. |
| 6-7 | James Gerrard's Duets | Gerard: Six Sonatas or Duets for 2 German flutes or 2 violins. London, Johnson, c1765. (first violin part only) |
| 7-8 | Gavot, Minuet, Presto, Giga by Mr Davis | Not found. (Several musicians of this name active in London and Dublin in 18 th century; no works lists.) |
| 8-9 | 2 nd sonata from 6 sonatas or duets by Sigr Geo Batista St Martini of Milan | G B Sammartini: Six Sonatas or Duets for 2 German flutes or violins, op 4, published Walsh, 1748 (attribution to Sammartini is spurious). This is first mvt from no.2 |
| 9 | Defesch's Duets Air 20 | Willem de Fesch: 30 Duets for 2 flutes, op 11, London, 1747 |

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 10 | Baldicourts 2d solo | Probably from Simon Balicourt: 8 Solos for a German flute. Published in London by Johnson, 1750 and 1760. |
| 11 | Presto in Baldicourts 7 Solo | Probably from Simon Balicourt: 8 Solos for a German flute. Published in London by Johnson, 1750 and 1760 |
| 12 | Allegro [Baldicourt?] | Probably from Simon Balicourt: 8 Solos for a German flute. Published in London by Johnson, 1750 and 1760 |
| 13 | Allegro and Adagio from Bezozzi | Alessandro Besozzi: 6 solos for a german flute or violin and basso continuo op2 (pub Walsh, London, 1750). Allegro is 1 st mvt of no 1, Adagio is 3 rd mvt of no 3. |
| 13-14 | Weideman's Allegro | Carl Friedrich Weidemann: first movement of no. 2 of 6 duets for 2 flutes, op 4, London, c 1751 |
| 14-15 | Weiderman Marcia, Allegro | Carl Friedrich Weidemann; second movement of no.5 and third movement of no 2 of 6 duets for 2 flutes, op 4, London, c 1751 |
| 16 | Sammartini op4 Six Sonatas, no IV, VI | G B Sammartini: Six Sonatas or Duets for 2 German flutes or violins, op 4, published Walsh. |
| 17-18 | Presto and Allegro by Signr Siess | Siess: Six Sonatas or duets for Two German Flutes or Violins, c 1750, from no 1 (3 rd and 2 nd mvt). |
| 18 | Giga | Not in Siess set, but in same hand as Presto and Allegro above. |
| 19-20 | Stanley's 6 Solo | John Stanley: no.6 of 6 solo's for a German flute, violin or harpsichord, op 4, London, 1745 |

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 21-24 | From 6 Violin Solos composed by Sigr Agus Sonata 3,4 | Giuseppe Agus: Sonata 3 is from Six solos for violin and harpsichord, op 2, pub London, 1751. Sonata 4 is no. 5 of Six solos for violin and harpsichord, op 1, pub London, 1751 |
| 24 | Scotch Gavot in the Overture to Thos and Sally | Arne: <i>Thomas and Sally</i> , 1760 (score published 1761) |
| 25 | Two minuets by Dr Greene | Not found. |
| 26 | Giga from Avison's Concertos opera quarta | Violino primo of concerto no 5, last movement, from Avison: 8 concertos in 7 parts op 4 pub Johnson 1755. |
| 26 | Allegro | Not found. ("no 36, Drury Lane Play House" written underneath) |
| 27 | 3 rd Violin Solo by de Giardini, Adagio | Giardini: Probably no 3 from op3: <i>Sei Sonate de cembalo con violino . . .</i> 1751 (copy in Lbl is missing). |
| 28-29 | 4 th Violin Solo by de Giardini, Grave + Allegro | Giardini: probably no4 from op 5: <i>Sei Sonate da camera a violino solo</i> (copy in Lbl is missing) |
| 30-33 | Violin solo by Mr Cocklin | Not known from other sources |
| 34-41 | Solo Violin Mr Cocklin | Not known from other sources |
| 42-44 | Solo by Mr Cocklin | Not known from other sources |
| 45-47 | Solo | Not found. (possibly by Cocklin) |
| 48 | Two minuets | Not found. |

| | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 49 | Tempo di Bouree from Pastor Fido by Mr Handel | Handel: <i>Il Pastor Fido</i> , 1712. |
| 50 | Agus Allegro Maestoso | Agus: from no 2 of Six solos for violin and harpsichord, op 1, pub London, 1751 |
| 51-53 | Largo and Gratoso by Mr Cocklin | Not known from other sources |
| 53 | The Little Gypsey (untexted) | Only 20 th century versions found |
| 54-5 | Scribbled full score | Not found. (Unfinished and untidy, poor quality) |
| 56 | Agus Allegro and Minuetto | Agus: from no 6 of Six solos for violin and harpsichord, op 1, pub London, 1751 |
| 57 | By Count St Germain | Not found. |
| 58-9 | Agus opus 2, 5 th solo | Agus: Six solos for violin and harpsichord, op 2, pub London, 1751 |
| 60-61 | Canzonetta, "Viva tute le vezzose" | <i>Viva tutti le vezzose</i> , The favorite terzetto in the <i>Entertainment of the Deserter</i> , attr Giardini or Guglielmi. London, 1788 |
| 61-2 | 2 Songs from the <i>Triumph of Hibernia</i> by Pasquali | Masque: <i>Triumph of Hibernia</i> (pre 1757) Texted vocal line only. |
| 63 | Allegro and Giga by Hasse | Not found. |
| 64 | Nighn Down J Narwich | Sonata on Gaelic tune <i>Nighean donn an Araidh</i> identified by David Johnson and reproduced in <i>Musica Scottica</i> vol 3 (Glasgow, 2000). Violin tune using scordatura |
| 65-7 | Pastora | "Pastora Fled t'a Shady Grove". Not in CPM. For voice and basso continuo. |
| 68-9 | Fragment of a symphony | Unknown. |

| | | |
|-------|--|---|
| 70 | Capillaire Minuet by Lord Kelly | Well-known, printed (posthumously) 1836 by CKSharpe; circulating in Scottish manuscript sources from c 1740. |
| 71-3 | Orchestration of Kelly minuet | <i>Capillaire</i> orchestrated for 2 wind instruments [clarinets] and three strings [first and second violins and bass] |
| 74-83 | Score of an orchestral piece | Four part strings and four wind parts, all treble clef. Very amateur – dissonances in wind, cadence on V7 etc |
| 84-5 | Edinburgh Volunteer's March by Miss Baillie of Mellerstane | Parts for "clar 1" and "clar 2" [clarinets?] and piano. |
| 86 | Song in the Reprisals by Oswald, sung by Mr Macklin | "From the Man whom I Love", a favourite song in the <i>Reprisal</i> , sung by Miss Macklin, printed London, 1757? |
| 87 | Blow Blow the Winter Wind | "Blow Blow thou Winter Wind" from Arne's Music to <i>As You Like It</i> , printed London, 1750? |
| 87 | 2 songs from the Contrivances | Henry Carey: <i>The Contrivances</i> , comedy 1715, revised as ballad opera 1729. As the second and third songs in MS Acc 11420 (1) f 38v-39v, though the second song is transposed in this version. |
| 88 | Colin's Kisses by Oswald | James Oswald: <i>Colin's Kisses</i> , London, 1743. 3 mvts: Rapture, Imaginary and Mutual kisses |

MS 11420 (3)

| Folio number | Title | Identification |
|--------------|---|---|
| 1r | Signature of Elizabeth Rose. Harpsichord exercises | [Scales and arpeggios.] |
| 1v-3r | Concerto by Vivaldi | Keyboard reduction of Vivaldi Violin Concerto in F, "Il Ritiro", RV 294 (c1715) |
| 3v-4r | Lesson by Mr Larini | Composer not known |
| 4v-5r | Lesson by Sigr Pescatore | As final piece in Bremners <i>Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany</i> , Edinburgh 1761-2. |
| 5v-6v | Lesson by Mr Camdon | Composer not found |
| 6v-8r | Song "O Jesu deus magne pastor bone" | No 18 th century setting found. |
| 9r | Song in Thomas and Sally "When late I wander'd" | Arne: <i>Thomas and Sally</i> (1760) |
| 9v-12v | Bach concerto Imo | J C Bach: no. 1 of 6 concertos for the harpsichord, op 1, 1763 |
| 12v | [untitled] | Not found. (B minor keyboard piece) |
| 13r | The Braes of Ballandane; | The Braes of Ballandane – Scots air. Vocal line only. |
| 13r | Minuet by Malone | Not found. |
| 13v-14r | "The Traveller benighted & lid thro' weary ways" sung by Miss Brent in Love in a Village by Dr Arne | <i>Love in A Village</i> : pasticcio, 1764 (includes 19 songs by Arne) |

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| 14r | Hymn tune [untitled] | 100 th Psalm Tune. Different to Gilson's version in <i>Lessons in the Practice of Singing</i> (transposed to A maj here). |
| 14v-16v | Oh Turn behold my streaming eyes, sung by Mrs Vincent in Pharnaces | W Bates: Pharnaces, 1765 |
| 16v-17r | Instructions for forming chords and inversions | |
| 17v-21r | Avison: two prestos | Not found. |
| 21v-23r | Avison: Presto | Not found |
| 23v-25r | Sonata 4 th Abel | C F Abel: Six Sonatas for harpsichord and violin or flute, op 5, London 1764, no 2 |
| 26r | [hymn tune?] | Not found. |
| 26v-29r | Sonata 6 th Abel | C F Abel: Six Sonatas for harpsichord and violin or flute, op 5, London 1764, no 6 |
| 29r | Chordal setting of "my soul doth magnify", scribbled upside down | ? |
| 29v-30r | The Echoing Horn – song by Arne | From Arne: <i>Thomas and Sally</i> , 1760 |
| 30v-34v | Kelly | Symphony op 1/1 (keyboard reduction). (Symphony pub 1761 by Bremner). |
| 35r-36v | Minuet and variations | Not found. |
| 36v | Figured bass exercise? | |
| 37r-39v | Periodical Overture no 1 by Sigr Giovanni Christiani Bach | J C Bach: Periodical Overture no.1 (keyboard reduction) |

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| 40r-42r | Abel Overture 3d | C F Abel: op 1: Six Symphonies, Amsterdam c 1759, no 3 |
| 42r-43r | Avison Concerto 3d Clavecin | Avison: 8 concertos in 7 parts, op 4, London 1755, no 3, last two mvts. Harpsichord reduction is violin 1 concertino + bass, as printed parts with minor discrepancies in bass line. |
| 43v | Pugnani [Minuet?] | Not found. |
| 44r | Song "Adieu the verdant lawns" | <i>Adieu the Verdant Lawns</i> , London, 1777?, author unknown |
| 44v-45r | Avison | Not found (not from op 5: Six Sonatas, or op 7: Six Sonatas, or op 8: Six Sonatas.) |
| 45v | Two hymn tunes, Newton and unnamed (untexted) | Newton Psalm Tune as Gilson in <i>Lessons in the Practice of Singing</i> (bass line not the same); second tune is not included in Gilson volume |
| 46r | Hymn tune- St Pauls | St Paul's Tune as Gilson in <i>Lessons in the Practice of Singing</i> (bass line not the same) |
| 46v-47v | Incomplete untitled piece | Perhaps an unknown symphony by the Earl of Kelly? |
| 48r | Hymn tune - St Mary's | St Mary's Tune as Gilson in <i>Lessons in the Practice of Singing</i> (bass line not the same, and the manuscript version is ornamented) |
| 48v | "We Praise thee o God" | Not in Gilson volume. Counter tenor part only, untexted. |

APPENDIX 5
CATALOGUE OF MUSIC
IN THE COLLECTION OF LORD COLVILLE OF OCHILTREE

Colville of Ochiltree Music Collection

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|------------------------|---|-------|
| Chamber Music | | | |
| Abaco's Solos for the Violin | Amsterdam, *c 1710 | Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco: 3sets of violin sonatas, 2 printed (op 1, c 1708, and op 4, 1716), 1 ms | Box A |
| Albicastro's Solos | Amsterdam [c1700] | Henricus Albicastro: Sonate a violino solo col basso continue, op 5. Pub Roger | Box A |
| Albicastro's Opera Terza for Two Basses and a Violin | Amsterdam, [c1700] | Henricus Albicastro: XII Sonates a Violino e violone, pub Roger | Box K |
| Albicastro opera Terza | Amsterdam, [c 1700] | Henricus Albicastro: XII Sonates a violino e violone col basso continuo. | Box B |
| Albicastro Opera Sexta | Amsterdam, [c 1700] | Henricus Albicastro: Sonate, violin and bc. No known copies. | Box B |
| Albicastro Opera Septima, Concertos | Amsterdam, [c 1700] | Henricus Albicastro: Concerti, 2 violin, viola, cello and bc. No known copies. | Box B |
| Albicastro Opera Octava | Amsterdam, [c 1700] | Henricus Albicastro: Sonate da camera a tre, due violin e violone | Box B |
| Albicastro Opera Nona | Amsterdam, c 1700 | Henricus Albicastro: XII Sonate a violino solo | Box B |
| Albinoni Six Solos | Amsterdam, [c1709] | T Albininoni: Sonata da chiesa a violino solo. pub Roger | Box B |
| Albinoni's Opera Prima | Amsterdam, [1710?] | T Albininoni: Suonate a tre, doi violini, e violoncello col basso. Pub Roger | Box C |
| Albinoni's Opera Secunda | Amsterdam, [1709] | T Albininoni: Sinfonie e concerti a cinque | Box C |
| Albinoni's Opera Terza | Amsterdam, post 1701 | T Albininoni: Balletti a tre. pub Roger. 1st pub Venice 1701 | Box C |
| Albinoni's Opera Quinta | Amsterdam, [1708] | T Albininoni: Concerti a cinque | Box C |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|---------------------------------|---|-------|
| Albinoni's Opera Sexta, or Twelve Solos | Amsterdam, [c1712] | T Albinoni: Trattenimenti armonici per camera. Pub Roger | Box C |
| MS Carolo Ambrosio's Twelve Sonatas | | ? | Box F |
| MS Auschnaier Opera Secunda | | ? | Box F |
| Baldasini's Opera Prima | Rome 1691 | Antonio Baldassini: Sonate a tre, doi violini e violone | Box I |
| MS Balzar's Airs for the Violin | *late 17 th century] | Several violin pieces by Baltzan in Playford's <i>Division Viol</i> , and other mss | Box G |
| MS Solos for the Violin by Baltzar and Young and Nicolas Matties | *late 17 th century] | Several violin pieces by Baltzan in Playford's <i>Division Viol</i> , and other mss | Box R |
| MS Bassani op 5 | *c 1683 | G Bassani: Sinfonie a due e tre instrumenti con il BC per l'organo, 1st pub Bologna 1683 | Box S |
| Bassani op 5 | Antwerp, 1691 | G Bassani: Sinfonie a due e tre instrumenti con il BC per l'organo, 1st pub Bologna 1683 | Box S |
| Bernardi's solos, opera terza | Amsterdam, [1706] | Sonate a violino solo, pub Roger | Box L |
| Besseghi Opera Prima | Amsterdam, [c1710] | Angelo Besseghi: Sonate da camera a violino solo col violone o Cembalo | Box I |
| Martino Betti's Solos | London, [c1705] | A solo in A for a violin (one part of a monthly series) | Box H |
| Bianchi Opera Prima | Amsterdam, [c1700] | Giovanni Binachi: Sonate a tre, 1 st pub Modena 1697 | Box H |
| MS Bichine's Tocatas | | ?Giovanni Bicilli – all vocal music. | Box L |
| MS Bichinie's Cadenzes | | ?Giovanni Bicilli | Box L |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|------------------------|--|-------|
| MS Biller's Solos for the Violin | | ? | Box C |
| L Bocchi Twelve Solos | Dublin, [1726] | L Bocchi: A musical entertainment for a chamber. Sonatas for violin . . . and a Scotch cantata. 1 st pub c 1725 | Box L |
| Bononcini's Aires for Two Flutes and a Bass, second set | London, 1711 | G M Bononcini: A second set of Bononcini's aires in the three parts for two flutes & a bass, pub L Pipard | Box G |
| Bonporti's Opera Prima | Amsterdam, [c1700] | F Bonporti: Suonate a tre (2vi). 1 st pub Venice 1696. Pub Roger c 1700. Colville owned three copies of this. | Box D |
| Bonporti's Opera Secunda | Amsterdam, post 1703 | Sonate da camera (2vi). 1 st pub Venice 1703. No Roger edition extant. | Box D |
| Bonporti's Opera Quarto | Amsterdam, [c 1710] | Sonate da camera (1vi). 1 st pub Venice 1703. Pub Roger c 1710 | Box D |
| Bonporti's Aires, Opera Sexta | Amsterdam [c1715] | Bonporti: Sonate da camera a due violini, 1 st pub Venice 1705. | Box I |
| Bonporti's Solos for the Violin Opera Septima | Amsterdam, post 1707 | Suonate da camera (1vi). 1 st pub Venice 1707. No date given for Roger edition. | Box D |
| MS Elias Brownmillar's three sonatas | * c 1709 | Elias Broennemuller: Sonate a due violini e violoncello col organo. Pub Amsterdam c 1709 | Box L |
| MS Caldara's Opera Secunda | *c 1699 | A Caldara: Suonate da camera a due violine, pub Venice 1699 | Box I |
| L'Europe Galate | 1697 | Probably Camppra: L'Europe galante – ballet. 1 st perf Paris 1697 | Box H |
| MS Carolo Chailo's Symphonies | | ? | Box I |
| Corbet's Opera Terza | London, [1708?] | William Corbett: Six Sonatas with an overture and aires in 4 parts for trumpet, violins, hauboy . . . pub Walsh and Hare | Box K |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|------------------------|---|-------|
| Corbet's Opera Quarta | London, [1712] | William Corbett: Six sonatas for two common flutes or two german flutes and a bass, pub Walsh and Hare | Box K |
| Correlli's Opera Secunda | Antwerp, 1689 | A Corelli: Sonate a tre. Pub Antwerp by Hendrik | Box A |
| MS Correlli's Opera Terza | *c 1689 | A Corelli: Sonate a tre, 1st pub Rome 1689 | Box V |
| MS Correlli's Opera Terza | *c 1689 | A Corelli: Sonate a tre, 1st pub Rome 1689 | Box A |
| MS Correlli's Opera Quarta | *c 1694 | A Corelli: Sonate a tre, 1st pub Rome 1694 | Box A |
| MS Correlli's Opera Quarta | *c 1694 | A Corelli: Sonate a tre. Rome 1694 | Box K |
| Six Sonatas falsely called Correlli's Opera Quarto, the original copy | | ? | Box I |
| Correlli's Opera Quinta, with the Graces | Amsterdam, [1710] | Sonate a violino . . . troisieme edition ou l'on a joint les agreemens des adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par Mr. A. Corelli, comme il les joue. | Box V |
| Correlli's Opera Quinta, turned into Concerti Grossi by Geminiani | London, 1726 | Concerti Grossi della prima/seconda parte dell'op 5 D'Arcangelo Corelli. 1st part pub Smith and Barrett, 1726, 2nd part Nicolas Prevost, 1726 and Walsh and Hare c 1726 | Box F |
| Correlli's Concertos | London, [1715] | A Corelli: op 6 Concerti grossi con duoi violini e violoncello di concertino obbligato | Box X |
| Correlli's First, Second, Third, and Fourth Operas | Amsterdam | (There was a London collected edition of all 4, 1732.) | Box V |
| MS: Correlli: Four Books of Symphonies | | ? A Corelli: Concerti Grossi | Box A |
| MS Correlli one book of Preludes | | ? | Box A |
| MS A Concerto Grosso by Correlli, never printed | | ? | Box A |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|----------------------------|---|-------|
| Christopher Pez's first and second Collections of Sonatas out of Correlli's Operas for two Flutes and a Bass | London, 1707 | Sonate da camera or Chamber Musick, consisting of several suites for 2 flutes. A second collection of sonatas for 2 flutes and a bass, by Signr Christopher Pez, to which is added some excellent solo's out of the first part of Corelli's 5th op. | Box H |
| Petro Degli Antonii's Opera Quinta | Amsterdam | Pietro Degli Antoni: Suonate a violino solo col basso continuo per l'organo. 1st pub Bologna 1686, no mention of Amsterdam edition | Box M |
| Instrumental Aires by Gerrard Diesner | [London, 1682] | Gerhard Diesneer: Instrumental ays in three, and four parts, two trebbles, tenor and bass | Box R |
| MS Dieupard Grand Concerto for different insts, with a Trumpet | | ? one of 5 sinfonien - only mss copies known | Box A |
| MS Dzanata Intrisci Armonicie, opera Quarta | | ? | Box L |
| MS Mr Finger's Concerto Grosso | | ?Gottfried Finger: one of Sonatae XII pro Diversis Instrumentis, 1st pub London 1688 | Box A |
| Finger's Overture from <i>Love Makes a Man</i> | London | Gottfried Finger: Airs from <i>Love Makes a Man</i> pub 1700. No known copies of overture. | Box F |
| Finger's Opera Prima | London and Amsterdam, 1688 | Gottfried Finger: Sonatae XII pro diversis instrumentis | Box G |
| MS Gasparini three sonatas | | ?G Gasparini Sonate a tre, Bologna 1683 | Box G |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|------------------------|---|-------|
| Symphonies of Loves Triumph | Amsterdam, post 1708 | "First and Second Treble only". Gasparini et al: The symphonies and instrumental parts in the opera call'd Love's Triumph. London, 1708. No Dutch edition known. | Box H |
| Geminiani's Solos | London, 1719 | F Geminiani: XII Solo's for a Violin with a thoroughbass, pub Walsh and Hare | Box F |
| Gentile's Opera Prima | Amsterdam, 1700 | ?Giorgio Gentili op 1 Sonate a tre, 1701 Venice. 1700 Roger | Box E |
| Gentile's Opera Quinta | Venice, 1708 | ?Giorgio Gentili op 5 Concerti a quattro e cinque, 1708 Venice | Box E |
| Joannis Lamberti Opus Secundum | | ? | Box N |
| Jean Lully of Gant's Twelve Sonatas or Solos for the Flute | London, [c1720] | Jean Baptiste Loeillet of Gant: Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Through Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin. 2 sets, both first pub Amsterdam, c 1710 and 1714, issued in London by Walsh c 1720 | Box H |
| L'estrio des Opera Prima and Secunda de Monsr de Lully | Amsterdam, [c 1710] | ?Jean Baptiste Loeillet of Gant: 2 sets of 12 sonatas for flute and bc, pub Amsterdam c 1710 and 1714 | Box R |
| Marci's Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass | Amsterdam | ?GM Marchi? | Box L |
| Marine's Concertas, opera Terza | Amsterdam, post 1693 | Carlo Marino: Suonate a tre & a cinque, 1st pub Venice, c 1693 | Box L |
| Carolo Marini, Opera Octava | Amsterdam, c1705 | Carlo Marino: Sonate a violino solo, 1st pub Venice, 1705 | Box I |
| Joannes Matheson's Solos for the Fiddle or German Flute | Hamburg | ? | Box Y |
| MS Meck Concerto grosso con violino | at Hamburg | ? | Box N |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|-----------------------------|--|-------|
| Mascitti's Fifteen Solos Opera Secunda | Amsterdam, 1706 | Mascitti: Sonate da camera a violino solo. 1st pub Paris, 1706 | Box D |
| Mascitti's Twelve Solos, Opera Terza | Amsterdam, c1707 | Mascitti: Sonate da camera a violon solo. 1st pub Paris 1707 | Box D |
| Mascitti's Opera Quinta | Amsterdam, [c 1720] | Sonate a violino solo e basso. 1st pub Paris 1714. Conflicting dates for Roger edition | Box D |
| MS Nicalo Mattie's Preludes and Graces, upon different Tunes | | ? | Box F |
| Nicalo Mattie's Lessons | Naples | ? | Box F |
| MS Nicalo Mattie's Aires for Spinnet and Violin | *late 17th century | Ayres for the Violin. pub 1676(?) and 1685. | Box K |
| Paisible Six Sonatas for two flutes | London, [1705?] | James Paisible: Six Sonatas of 2 parts for 2 flutes op 1 | Box N |
| MS Pepush Grand Concerto | *c 1720 | J C Pepusch: possibly that cited in Chandos library inventory of 1721, or that cited in Daily Courant 1717? (both now lost) | Box A |
| MS Pepush solos for the Flute | *c 1710 | J C Pepusch : 6 sonatas for flute and harpsichord pub London [1707] and [1709]; also various manuscripts containing flute solos or sonatas | Box A |
| Pepush Six Solos and Sonatas for the Flute | London, [1707] or [1709] | J C Pepusch : 6 sonatas for flute and harpsichord (2 sets) | Box A |
| Pepush Six Solos for the Flute and a Bass | London, [1707] or [1709] | J C Pepusch : 6 sonatas for flute and harpsichord (2 sets) | Box B |
| Pepush Aires for two Violins, for the Improvent of a Scholar with his Master | London, [c1709, 1714] | Mr Pepusch's Aires for Two Violins. Made on Purpose for the Improvement of Practitioners in Consort. Pub Walsh and Hare (conflicting dates given in Grove and CPM) | Box B |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|----------------------------------|--|-------|
| MS Pepush Six Concerto grosso in sheets | * early 18 th century | J C Pepusch : ? only mss copies known | Box A |
| The original copy of a solo by Mr Pepush, composed in an Hour and six Minutes; and another by Martino Betti | | ? | Box A |
| Renoldi Popina's Opera Prima | Amsterdam | ? | Box C |
| MS Ravenscroft's Opera Prima | *c 1695 | Ravenscroft: Sonate a tre. 1st pub Rome 1695. | Box C |
| Ravenscroft's Opera Secunda | London, 1708 | Ravenscroft: Sonate di Camera. Pub Vaillant. | Box C |
| Romano's Ten Sonatas for Two Flutes and Thorough Bass | London, post c 1725 | 2nd part only. Johann Helmich Roman sonatas, pub Roger c 1725. | Box C |
| Carolo Roscier's Opera Prima | Antwerp | ? | Box E |
| MS Roscier's Sonatas | | ? | Box E |
| Scheak's Lessons for the Viol de Gambo | London | ? | Box G |
| Schickhardt's Solos | Amsterdam | Schickhardt: 10 sets, various instruments, pub 1709 - c 1735 | Box H |
| Schickhardt's Opera Secunda | Amsterdam, [1709/10] | Schickhardt: Sonates pour un haubois ou violin | Box H |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|-----------------------------|--|-------|
| Schickhardt's Solos for a German Flute, Hautboy or Violin and thorough Bass | Amsterdam, 1715 and [c1723] | Schickhardt: Solos for a German Flute, Hautboy or Violin, op 20, pub as 2 sets. | Box H |
| Schikhard six sonatas | Amsterdam | Schickhardt: ten sets pub 1709-c1735 - various instruments. | Box L |
| MS Schlechtinhuoft's works | | ? | Box G |
| MS Skull's Ballets | | ? | Box H |
| Stradella's Symphonies for the Organ and violin | | ?12 sinfonias, vn and bc? Only mss, no dates. | Box L |
| MS Tibaldii's Opera Prima | *c 1705 | Tibaldi: Sonate da camera a tre, pub Roger, c 1705 | Box K |
| Tonini's Opera Terza | Amsterdam, [1698] | Bernardo Tonini: Balletti in partitura, 1698 – no copies extant. Place of publication not known. | Box M |
| Sir William Topham's Opera Terza | London, [c1709] | W Topham: Six Sonatas, five in four & a sixth in seven parts. 2 editions, both c 1709 Witlare, and Pippard | Box K |
| Torrelli's Solos for a Violin and Bass, opera Quarta | Amsterdam, post c 1690 | G Torelli: Concertino per camera a violine e violoncello, pub Bologna c 1688 - 90 (conflicting dates). No Roger edition mentioned. | Box E |
| Torrelli's Opera Sexta | Amsterdam, [c1700] | G Torelli: Concerti Musicali a quattro. 1st pub Augsburg 1698 | Box E |
| Torrelli's Twelve Solos for the Violin, Opera Septima | Amsterdam | Unknown. | Box E |
| Torrelli's Sonatas for two Violins and two Bases | ?, 1692 | ? G Torelli: op 5 Sinfonie a tre e a quattro, 1692 | Box E |
| MS Torrelli's Opera Terza | *c 1687 | Sinfonie a 2.3.e 4 istromenti. pub Bologna 1687 | Box E |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|------------------------|---|-------|
| MS Torrelli's Sonatas for two Violins | | G Torelli: several sets. | Box E |
| MS Valdarini's Opera Secunda | | ? | Box I |
| MS Solos for the Violin by Valentini | | ? | Box Y |
| Valentini Six sonatas for two Flutes | London | ? | Box Y |
| Valentine's Sonatas | Amsterdam [c 1720] | ?Giuseppe Valentini Suonate a tre (2vi + vc) op 5. 1st pub Roger c 1720. | Box E |
| Valentine's Solos for the Flute | Amsterdam, post 1730 | ?Roberto Valentini: Sonate per il Flauto Traversiero, pub Rome, c 1730 | Box E |
| MS Valentine's Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass, opera Secunda | *c 1703 | G Valentini: Bizzarrie per camera a tre (2 vi + violone) pub Rome 1703 | Box E |
| Valentine's Solos Opera Quarta | Amsterdam, post 1706-7 | G Valentini: Idee per camera op 4, 1st pub Rome 1706-7 | Box E |
| Scherzi Giovanni Giocomos Valther's Solos | Bourgeat, 1687 | Johann Jacob Walther: Scherzi da violino solo | Box A |
| Veracini's Opera Terza | Amsterdam, [c1710] | F M Veracini: Sonate da camera a due: violino e violone, 1st pub Modena 1696 | Box G |
| Visconti and Albicastro's Solos, Opera Quinti | Amsterdam, [c1700] | No op 5 by Visconti. Albicastro op 5: Sonate a violino solo, pub Roger c 1700 | Box I |
| G B Vitale Opera Nona | Amsterdam, 1684 | G B Vitali: Sonata da chiesa a due violini | Box L |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|-------|
| Vivaldi's solos, opera secunda | Amsterdam, before 1712 | A Vivaldi: Sonate a violino. 1st pub Venice 1709 | Box D |
| Vivaldi's Opera Terza | London, [1715] | A Vivaldi: L'Estro Armonico Concerti. Roger 1711 | Box D |
| MS William William's Opera Prima, an original copy | * early 18 th century | No opus one. Perhaps flute sonata (London, c 1700) or 6 sonatas in 3 parts (London, 1700 and 1703) | Box A |
| | | | |
| Solo Keyboard Music | | | |
| Henry Anglibert's Lessons for the Harpsichord and Spinnet | Amsterdam, post 1689 | Henri D'Anglebert: Pieces de Clavecin. 1st pub Paris 1689 | Box B |
| The Ladies Entertainment by Mr Babel | London, 1709 | Ladies Entertainment book 3, pub Walsh and Hare | Box H |
| MS Begue's Lessons for the Harpsichord | *late 17th century | perhaps a copy of Lebegue Les Pieces de Clavecin, Paris 1677 and Paris [1687] | Box C |
| L'Begue Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | Amsterdam, post 1677 or post 1687 | Lebegue Les Pieces de Clavecin, Paris 1677 and Paris [1687] (2 books) | Box K |
| MS Mr Le Begue's Lessons for the Organ | *late 17th century | perhaps Lebegue: Pieces d'orgue (Paris 1676), 2 livre d'orgue (Paris, ?1678), 3 livre (Paris, ?1685) | Box Z |
| MS Lessons for the Organ by Le Begue and Nivers | *late 17th century | perhaps Lebegue: Pieces d'orgue (Paris 1676), 2 livre d'orgue (Paris, ?1678), 3 livre (Paris, ?1685); Nivers livre d'orgue (1665 and 1675) | Box R |
| Lord Biron's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London, 1705 and [c1716] | An Overture and airs for the Harpsichord Composed by a Person of Quality, pub Walsh and Hare 1705, re-printed c1716 as Ld Biron's lessons | Box K |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|---|------------------------|---|-------|
| Blow: Psalms for the Organ and Harpsichord | Amsterdam, post 1731 | J Blow: The Psalms . . . Set Full for the Organ or Harpsichord as they are Play'd in Church or Chapels. [Walsh, London, 1731] | Box B |
| Dr Blow's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London, 1698 | J Blow: A Choice Collection of Lessons, 1698 | Box K |
| Bononcini Lessons for the Harpsichord | London, [c 1737] | ?GB Bononcini Suites de pieces pour le Clavecin. Pub Walsh, c 1737 date given as c 1735 in Walsh listings. | Box H |
| MS Chambonieri's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | *late 17th century | ?Chambonnières. 2 books of Pieces de clavecin pub Paris 1670. Lots of other pieces in mss, now in Paris. | Box K |
| Gerrard Diesner's Harpsichord Lessons | London, 1684 | G Diesneer: ?"Kitharapaideia" or A book of Lessons for the Harpsichord, not extant, but mentioned in London Gazette for Nov 1684? (Grove) | Box R |
| Dieupard's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London, [1705] | Dieupard: Select Lessons for Harpsichord or Spinnet . . . Plac'd on five lines in ye English Cliff. Pub Walsh and Hare | Box K |
| Sigr Drahi's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London. [1707] | G B Draghi Six Select suites of Lessons for Harpsichord in Six Several Keys. Pub Walsh and Hare | Box K |
| Harpsichord Lessons by John Eccles and Mr Purcel | London, [1702] | A Collection of Lessons and Aires for the Harpsichord or Spinnett compos'd by Mr J: Eccles, Mr D: Purcell and others | Box P |
| Froberger Lessons for the Organ | Amsterdam, post 1693 | Froberger: Divers ingegnossissime, rarissime . . . di toccate, canzone, ricercare, di cimballi, organi, e instrumenti. 1st pub Mainz 1693 | Box B |
| Grabiberger's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London | ? | Box K |
| MS Grabiberger and other Masters Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | | ? | Box K |
| Philip Hart's Fugues for the Harpsichord | Amsterdam, post 1704 | Hart: Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord. Pub Thomas Cross, London [1704] | Box B |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|--------------------------------|---|-------|
| Mr Hendel's Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet | London, ?1720 | Handle: ?Suites de pieces pour le clavecin (I) | Box K |
| Richard Jones's Harpsichord Lessons | London, 1732 | R Jones: Suits or Setts of Lessons for the harpsichord or Spinnet. Walsh and Hare 1732. Walsh edition confirmed as 1732 in London Bib Soc lists | Box H |
| Sir Godfrey Kneller's Rules for the Thorough Bass | London, 1705, 1707, [c1715] | Gottfried Keller: A compleat method for attaining to play a thorough bass upon either organ, harpsichord, or theorbo-lute . . . with variety of proper lessons and fuges, pub Cullen, 1707, Walsh and Hare 1705 and 1707, R Meares [c 1715] | Box B |
| Marchand's Lessons for the Harpsichord and Spinnet | Amsterdam, post 1702 | Louis Marchand Pieces de Clavecin. 1st pub Paris 1702 | Box B |
| MS Reinken's Tocatos and Lessons for the Harpsichord | | ? | Box N |
| Reinken's Sonatas | Hamburg | ? | Box N |
| MS Reinken sonata | | ? | Box O |
| MS Lessons for the Organ by Reinken, an original ms | | ? | Box O |
| MS Sandoni's Lessons | *mid 18th century | G Sandoni: ? 3 harpsichord sonatas pub along with Sandoni's 6 Cantatas da camera, London [1727?]; 6 setts of harpsichord lessons pub London c 1745; many keyboard sonatas known in mss | Box B |
| MS Spithens Lessons for the Organ | | ? | Box B |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|----------------------------------|---|-------|
| Mr St Lambert's Instructions for the Harpichord | Paris, 1702 | Les principes du clavecin . . . Par Monsieur de Saint-Lambert | Box Z |
| Mr St Lambert's Instructions to accompany the Organ, Harpsichord, and other Instruments | Paris, 1707 | Nouveau traite de l'accompagnement du clavecin, de l'orgue et des autres instruments par Monsieur de Saint-Lambert | Box Z |
| Abul Whichloco's Lessons for the Harpichord or Spinet | London, [1707] | Abiell Whichello Lesson for Harpsichord or Spinet. 2 editions, both 1707 | Box K |
| The Ladies Entertainment by different Masters | London, 1708 | ? Banquet of Music/Ladies Entertainment, pub Walsh and Hare, 1708 | Box H |
| Vocal Music | | | |
| Abel Collection of celebrated Songs, ded K William | London, 1701 | John Abell: ? Songs in Several Languages, 1701 | Box H |
| MS Albinoni's songs | * early 18 th century | T Albinoni: 12 cantatas op 4 pub Amsterdam 1702. Many unpub cantats circulating in mss | Box A |
| MS Mr Barret's Aires in the Tragedy of the <i>Generous Conqueror</i> | *London, c 1702 | Barrett: <i>Generous Conqueror or a Timely Discovery</i> . Ayres pub Walsh and Hare, 1702 | Box L |
| Lord Biron's Aires in the Play called the False Friend | London, [c1702] | Ayres in the Play . . . composed by a person of quality, pub Walsh and Hare | Box K |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|------------------------|--|-------|
| Baron Clerk: 21 pieces of music | | ? | Box L |
| Christophoro Diesnero's Songs, in High Dutch | Bremen | no songs by Diessener known | Box O |
| MS Grescobaldi Airs | | "Girolamo Grescobaldi, Organist at St Peter's at Rome, his Airs" ie Frescobaldi Libro d'arie musicali of 1630 | Box F |
| MS Lusiovero, del Francisco Gasparini | 1719 | F Gasparini: opera Lucio Vero, 1st perf Rome 1719 | Box L |
| Rinhard Krysan Opera sa Gorza della Virtu | post 1700 | Reinhard Keiser: La forza della virtu, oder Die Macht der Tugend, 1st perf Hamburg 1700. Arias pub Hamburg 1701. | Box I |
| Opera Almira del Rinhard Keysan | post 1706 | Reinhard Keiser: Die durchlauchtige Secretarius oder Almira, Königin von Castilien, 1st perf Hamburg, 1706. Arias pub in "Componimenti musicali", Hamburg, 1706 | Box K |
| Giacomo Kremberg's Songs | | J Kremberg: some songs pub Dresden 1689, another 3 exist in mss | Box O |
| Lully <i>Achille & Polixene</i> | | J B Lully <i>Achille & Polixene</i> , opera - 1st perf Paris 1687 | Box O |
| MS Orlandini: opera of Nino | perf Rome 1722 | ? (a fine Roman MS) | |
| Playford's Orpheus Britannicus | London, 1698 and 1702 | Orpheus Britannicus, A Collection of all the Choicest Songs for One, Two, and Three Voices, Compos'd by Mr Henry Purcell. Together with symphonies for Violins or flutes | Box G |
| Purcel's <i>Judgment of Paris</i> | Amsterdam | opera by Daniel Purcell, 1st perf London 1702. No known Amsterdam edition (?) | Box M |

| Spine Title/Description | Publication Details | Full Identification | Notes |
|--|---------------------------------|---|-------|
| MS Purcell's <i>Airs in Unhappy Penitent</i> | | Mr D Purcells ayrs in the tragedy of the Unhappy Penitent, pub Walsh and Hare 1707. 1st perf London 1701 | Box L |
| The Original copy of a Song composed by Mr Pepush for Mr Bayne | | ? | Box A |
| C A Ratindi Cantatas, Theatre musical | | ? | Box O |
| MS Scarlatti's opera Capranica, a fine Roman MS brought from Italy by Mr Michael Kinkaid | *early 18 th century | D Scalatti: Ambleto (1715) and Berenice (1718) performed in Teatro Capranica, Rome | Box X |
| MS Georgius Zuberuz cantatas | | ?Gregor Zuber? (c 1633-73) No known vocal music | Box H |
| | | | |
| Sacred Music | | | |
| Bassani op 8 | Amsterdam, [1700] | G Bassani: Metri sacri resi armonici, in motetti. 1st pub Bologna 1690 | Box S |
| Bassani op 11 | Bologna, 1692 | G Bassani: Concerti Sacri, motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci | Box S |
| Bassani op 12 | Amsterdam, post 1692 | G Bassani: Motetti a voce sola, 1st pub Venice 1692 | Box S |
| MS Bassani op 12 | *c 1692 | G Bassani: Motetti a voce sola, 1st pub Venice 1692 | Box S |
| MS Bassani op 17 | *c 1699 | G Bassani: La Sirena amorosa, cantata a voce sola con violini, pub Venice 1699 | Box S |
| Bassani op 18 and 20 | Bologna 1698 | G Bassani: op18: Messe concertate a 4 e 5 voci. op20: Messa per li defonti concertata a quattro voci. Both Bologna 1698. Roger pub both together - no date given. | Box T |
| Bassani op 24 | Venice, 1700 | G Bassani: Davide armonici, espresso ne salmi | Box T |

| | | | |
|---|-------------------|--|-------|
| Bassani op 26 | Bologna, 1701 | G Bassani: Antifone sacra a voce sola | Box T |
| Bassani op 27 | Venice 1701 | G Bassani: Motetti sacra a voce sola | Box T |
| Battista's Cantatas | Antwerp | Battistine Motets, Armoni e sagre (1698 and 1700) not pub in Antwerp | Box T |
| Theoretical works | | | |
| MS Bernardi Documenti Armonici, Miscellanea Musicale, the original copy | Bologna, 1687 | Angelo Barnardi: Documenti Armonici (treatise) | Box Z |
| Mr Niver's on the Composition | London | Guillaume Nivers: Traite de la composition de musique, pub Paris 1667. No London edition listed. | Box Y |
| Mr Niver on the Composition | | Guillaume Nivers: Traite de la composition de musique, pub Paris 1667 | Box Z |
| Mr Donouelis on the Composition | | ? | Box Y |
| Nicolas Matties on the Composition | | ?The False Consonances of Music: Instructions for Playing a Thorough-Base upon the Guitarre, or Other Instruments, pub London 1682 | Box Y |
| MS Elway Bevin on the Composition | *mid 17th century | A Briefe and Short Instruction in the Art of Musick, pub London 1631 | Box Y |
| Two Copies of Lully's on the Composition | | nothing known (Lully or Loeillet) | Box Z |

APPENDIX 6

WORKS OMITTED FROM MUSIC COLLECTION LISTINGS

Music dating from pre 1650

Maule library

Il Pastor Fido in French, Paris, 1622; Melanges de Mr du Montt is Six books: probably a ms collection of Philipe de Monte's vocal music (madrigals, masses, chansons), much of which was published during the 16th century. Both listed in 1685 catalogue.

Extant 16th century volumes: NLS MS 9447: Duncan Burnett's Music Book; NLS MS 9448: Clement Matchett's Virginal Book; NLS MS 9449: Jean Campbell's Music Book; NLS MS 9450: Commonplace Book of Robert Edward; NLS MS 9451: 23 French lute pieces; NLS MS 9452: 100 dances, mainly French lute tablature; GD 45/26/94: 11 books of Italian songs, printed, 1566

Hope

B Guarini: Pastor Fido (Venice, 1590): Col J Hope's subscription copy. This book was "dedicated to the Earl of Burlington by P A Rolli", 1718. Sold by Sotheby's, 1889.

Clerk

Capricci da Girolamo Frescobaldi: Il primo libro di capricci, (vocal), 1st pub Rome 1624 listed in GD 18/4553

Colville

D'Orlandi's Songs: Doway 1592; Atto di Francisco Soriano Romano: Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, pub Venice 1588; Thomas Weilkis Ballets and Madrigals, London 1598; Mario Capuana's songs: Sacre armonie 1647, or Motettie, 1649; Jacob van Eyk's Psalms for the Bells, 1646; Jacoli Finetti's Cantici Ecclesiastici (ie, Giacomo Finetti's Concerti Ecclesiastice, II III et IIII vocibur, Antwerp, 1621); Andreo Gabrielle: ? (no details given, but late 16th century); Franciso Gianelli's Madrigals: Il primo libro de madrigali a tre voci, Venice, 1592; Fiori del Giardino: ? (no details given); Rogerii Joannellii's Sacrarum Modulationum, Venice 1598; Orlandi Lassi's Sacrae Cantionis, Venice 1566; Orlandi Lassi: ? (no details, late 16th century); Orlandi Lassi: Sacrae Cantiones liber quartus or Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque, Venice 1593; G M Nanino: ? (no details, late 16th century); Di Luca Marenzio: ? (no details given); Horatio Vecchi da Modona Cantatas, Venice, ?1597; Mr Love's Elements of Music, London, 1603; Thomas Morley: A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, London, 1597; Domenico Belli: Orfeo dolente, musica . . . diviso in cinque intermedi (opera), Venice, 1616; John Dowland: The First booke of songes or ayres of foure partes with a tablature for the lute, 1st pub London 1597, revised edition pub Humfrey Lownes 1606

Items omitted from list because information is too vague to enable identification, or contents are very diverse

Colville: 44 items omitted

Keyboard: MS lessons for the Harpsichord by different Masters; MS Preludes and Fugues for the Organ; MS lessons for the Harpsichord; MS Lessons and Tocatos for the Organ; MS Lessons for the Organ; MS a fine Collection of Harpsichord Lessons by Kipant, Reinken, Roddecker, Froberger, Kirle, etc; MS Lessons for the Organ and Harpsichord by Jonas Tressure and other Masters; MS A Collection of fine Harpsichord Lessons by Mrs Couperine, de Landi, Maritone, Labar, Handel, Gautier, Marais, Marchant etc

Instrumental: MS Sonatas by CR; MS Caprici Musicali; MS Mr Bayne's Works; Gaspard Kirle, Pasquine, Poglietti's Tocatos and Suits; MS Adam Craig's Works; MS symphonies del Pallaroli, Guiseppi, Della Porta; Harmonia Mundi by Albinoni, Varacini, Caldara etc; MS Torrelli's Ballets, Pez's Opera Prima, Gabrielli's Ballets; Six Select Solos by Six Masters; Sonatas by Ziani, Pallaroli, Bassani and other famous authors; MS Solos for the Fiddle by Correlli, Petro Deghli Antonio etc; A Collection of Select Preludes for the Flute by Different Authors; Ms Albinoni Opera Prima, Ruggiecri's Opera quarto, Caldara's four Sonatas, Baldanini etc; Six Sonatas for Two Flutes by Croft and a Solo by Pepush; MS A Collection of Symphonies in three and more parts, Roman MS; MS trios by Finger and other Authors; MS Solos for the Violin by Baltzar and Young and Nicolas Matties

Vocal: MS Mr F___ solos; Several books of Italian Songs in Roman MS; MS Airs for a Scholar; MS Scarlatti and Bononcini cantatas; MS Scarlatti, Pasquini and Mancini; Scarlatti Amica hora Roman MS; Scarlatti & Mancini Cantatas, Roman MS; collection of French songs; MS Italian songs by Sabbatini, Severo de Luco etc; MS Italian songs by different masters; MS collection of Italian songs in partitura by different Masters; MS collection of Italian songs; MS Songs by Correlli and other famous Authors; MS solos by Correlli and other famous authors; MS Italian songs by different masters; MS Cantatas del Abbate Stephani and Signior Bononcini; MS songs of Alverii, Scarlatti, Bononcini and Perti; A Collection of Select Songs of the most famous Authors; A Collection of Select Italian Songs, by the most famous authors; MS Airs by Finger and Purcel and other Masters; English Songs by Walden, Barnet, Dean, Purcel etc

Baillie: 4 items omitted

The Merry Companion (Songs), The Lark (songs); Ramsay Scots Songs – all listed in 1724 catalogue. Manuscript of songs, listed in 1971 catalogue.

Hope: 2 items omitted

works by Allan Ramsay; ? manuscript copy of minuets by the Earl of Kelly, now missing – but appears to be copy of CK Sharpe's printed 1836 collection

Atholl: 10 items omitted

Italian Songs; Italian Music and Glees; Songs – Glees, Corri's Songs, Italian and Scotch; Songs – English and Scotch; Italian Songs by Ferrari, etc; Part Songs of Dr Callcott & C; English songs; Italian Songs, duets and trios; Songs by Abrams, Callcott &c; English songs – all in Lady Dorothea's list. Two of these volumes are among the volumes now at Blair Castle.

APPENDIX 7
INCIPITS FOR COMPOSITIONS
BY THOMAS ERSKINE, 6TH EARL OF KELLY

Orchestral Works

C major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner as no.2 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

Arrangement for harpsichord published by Corri, c 1785

Arrangement for harpsichord in NLS ms Acc11020, Mary Grant's music book

Arrangement for harpsichord in NLS ms Acc11420(1) from Kilravock Castle

Modern edition by David Johnson in *The Symphony 1720-1840* volume E 1, Garland, 1984

D major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner as no.1 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

Arrangement for harpsichord published by Corri, c 1785

Arrangement for harpsichord in NLS ms Acc11420 (3) from Kilravock castle

MS copies of Vi 1, Vi 2 Va, BC, Hn 1, Hn 2 and Flute 1 and 2 (in lieu of oboe) in

Boughton Music Collection, BS III 1-3.

D major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner as no.3 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

D major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



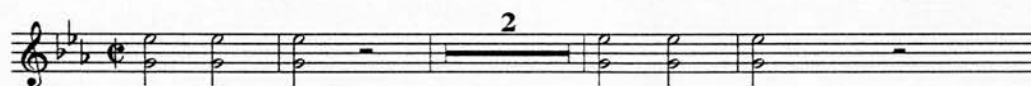
Published by Bremner in 1769 as Periodical Overture no 25

Eb major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



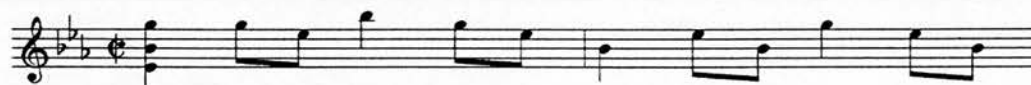
Published by Bremner as no.4 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

Eb major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner in 1766 as Periodical Overture no 13

Eb major, 2fl, 2 clar, fag, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner, c 1766 as Periodical Overture no 17
Modern edition by David Johnson, OUP, 1974

F major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner as no.6 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

G major, 2 ob, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner as no.5 of *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, London, 1761

Bb major, 2 ob, fag, 2 horns, strings



Published by Bremner, 1770, as Periodical Overture no 28, "The Maid of the Mill"

Modern edition by David Johnson in *the Symphony 1720-1840*, vol E 1, Garland, 1984

Spurious

Unknown bass part in C minor among Kelly music in Boughton House Collection, Northampton Record Office, BS III 1-3. Directions such as "fagotto" and "tutti" suggest it is a symphony rather than chamber music.

4 part music for strings/quartets

C major



no 2 in NLS MS Acc10303 (1-4)

C minor



No 8 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4)

MS Vi 1 and Vc parts in Boughton House Music Collection BS III 1-3.

Eb major



No 7 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4)

A major



No 9 in NLS mss 10303 (1-4)

Bb major



No 3 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4)

Unknown/ spurious 4 part works

Eb major



Two violin parts in NLS MS Acc10303(1) and 10303 (2); full score of first movement in NLS MS Acc 11420(3). No concordant source recorded in Jan LaRue's *Catalogue of 18th-century Symphonies* vol 1 (thematic identifier to 16,558 works).

Eb major



Attributed to Stamitz in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4), though the set purport to consist entirely of works by the Earl of Kelly

D major



Published by Bremner as no 5 of *Six Simphonies in 4 parts proper for small or great concerts, composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the Earl of Kelly, and others* (c.1765). No known attribution to other author, but no positive identification of Kelly's authorship.

E major



Published by Bremner as no 3 of *Six Simphonies in 4 parts proper for small or great concerts, composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the Earl of Kelly, and others* (c.1765). No 4 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4); part of set attributed to Kelly. No known conflicting attribution.

F major



Published by Bremner as no 6 of *Six Simphonies in 4 parts proper for small or great concerts, composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the Earl of Kelly, and others* (c.1765). David Johnson attributes this symphony to Stamitz in his 1991 text on NLS MS Acc 10303 (in accordance with the Stamitz catalogue by Wolf). No 6 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4); part of set attributed to Kelly

G major



Published by Bremner as no 1 of *Six Symphonies in 4 parts proper for small or great concerts, composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the Earl of Kelly, and others* (c.1765). No known attribution to other author, but no positive identification of Kelly's authorship.

A major



Published by Bremner as no 2 of *Six Symphonies in 4 parts proper for small or great concerts, composed by J Stamitz, his pupil the Earl of Kelly, and others* (c.1765). David Johnson attributes this symphony to GB Sammartini in his 1991 text on NLS MS Acc 10303 (in accordance with the Sammartini catalogue by Jenkins and Churgin).

No 5 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1-4)

Trio Sonatas

C major



No 8 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

Modern edition by David Johnson in *Chamber Music of Scotland, Musica Scotica* vol. 3, Glasgow, 2000

C major



Published by Welcker, as no 4 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769

Modern edition by David Johnson, OUP, 1973.

Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

C minor



No 3 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

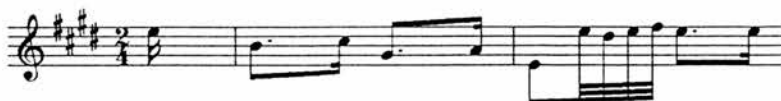
Eb major



Published by Welcker, as no 2 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769

Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

E major



Published by Welcker, as no 5 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769

Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

Modern edition by David Johnson in *Chamber Music of Scotland, Musica Scotica* vol. 3, Glasgow, 2000

E major



No 1 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

F major



Published by Welcker, as no 3 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769

Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

F major



No 4 in NLS MS Acc10303 (1, 2, 4)
Modern edition by David Johnson, 1991.

G major



Published by Welcker, as no 6 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769
Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

G major



No 9 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

G minor



No 6 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

A major



Published by Welcker, as no 1 of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Bass Compos'd by the Right Hon. Earl of Kelly*, 1769

Modern facsimile edition of Welcker publication by Kings Music, ed C Bartlett and P Holman, 1984.

A major



No 2 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

MS copy ov Vi 1 part and short score of minuet in Boughton House Music Collection BS III 1-3.

A major



No 7 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

Bb major



No 5 in NLS MS Acc 10303 (1, 2, 4)

String Duet



NLS MS Acc 10301 (1 and 2) (for 2 violins)

Modern edition by David Johnson in *Chamber Music of Scotland, Musica Scotica*
vol. 3, Glasgow, 2000

APPENDIX 8
PERFORMANCES OF WORKS RELATING TO THIS RESEARCH

Music associated with the Baillies of Mellerstain

Crichton Church, 29 June 1996

Sandoni: cantata *Del Timor d'un cor Geloso* (performance edition by H Goodwill)

Greene: *Generous, Gay and Galant Nation*

MacGibbon: Trio sonata in G major

Reid Concert

11 February 1997

John Clerk of Penicuik: cantata *Eheu* (performance edition by H Goodwill)

Attr. A Bayne: *Airs for the Flute*, 3rd set, in G minor

John Reid: Flute sonata no. 2 in C major

Greene: *Generous, Gay and Galant Nation*

Music associated with the Clerks of Penicuik

Penicuik House, 14 June 1998

Earl of Kelly: trio sonata in C major

John Clerk of Penicuik: violin sonata

Music associated with Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss

Gosford House, 28 June 1998

Foulis: Violin Sonata in Eb

Carusi: Trio Sonata no.3 in G major (performance edition by H Goodwill)

JC Schetky: Cello Sonata

Earl of Kelly: Trio Sonata in C major

Aristocratic music making and David Allan's Musical Conversazione

National Gallery of Scotland, 22 January 1999

Earl of Kelly: Two minuets (Countess of Errol and Lady Maxwell of Monteith)

Three Scottish Ballads from Scots Musical Museum: *Where Helen Lies*, *Corn Riggs*, *Logan Water*

L Bocchi: Sonata for Cello and Continuo in C major

L Bocchi: A Scots Cantata (performance edition by H Goodwill)